This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

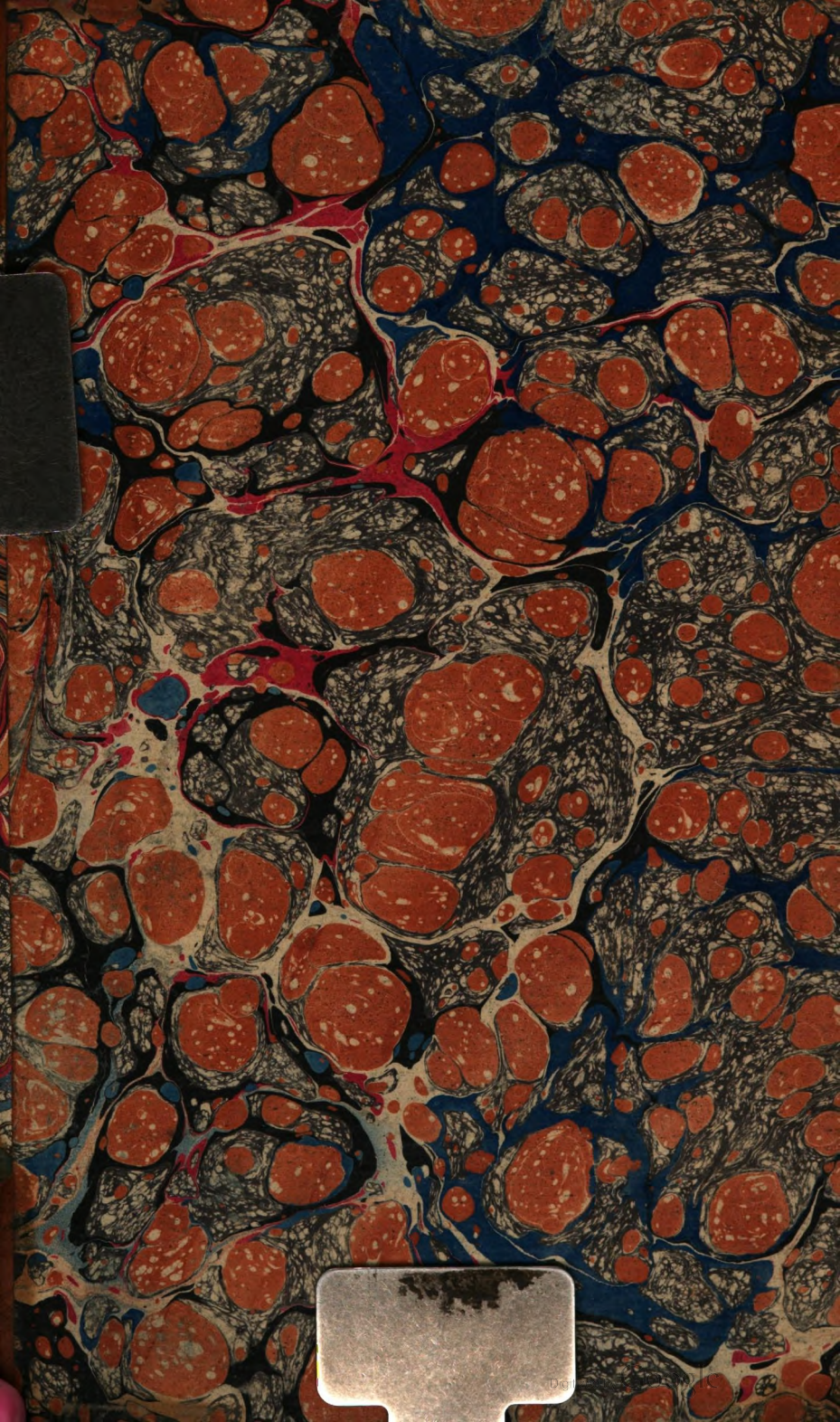
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`



24584. e. 10

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CYROPÆDIA;

OR,

THE INSTITUTION

OF

CYRUS,

By XENOPHON.

Translated from the Greek

By the HONOURABLE MAURICE ASHLEY.

LONDON:

Printed by J. Swan, Angel Street, Newgate Street,

FOR VERNOR AND HOOD; CUTHELL AND MARTIN; J. WALKER; WYNNE AND SCHOLEY; AND R. LEA.

1803.

Digitized by Google

BODLEIAN
11 JAN 1896
LIBRARY

Digitized by Google

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE

LADY ELIZABETH HARRIS.

MADAM,

A MAN who is indebted to the public for leisure, and for freedom from servile employment, is under obligation to acquire knowledge, and principally in religion, policy, and the art of war. You will, in probability, think, that morals ought to be added to the number; but as religion may be divided into two sorts, real and political, and that real religion can, by no means, be disjoined from morals, it does not seem proper to mention them as a distinct head.

The objects of the mind, in real religion, are the greatest in the world, the divinity and all divine things. When the mind has imbibed a full knowledge of these to its utmost capacity, it may be said to be religious: it then sees the divinity in all things; it sees it in human nature, and in all the laws of affection and duty in its several relations; it sees it in the whole world, and in every part of it, from the highest to the lowest productions, both animate and inanimate. The religious man thinks himself not to be "concealed from God in any of his motions*." True sentiments of God are the foundation of our dues to him: true knowledge of ourselves settles our duty in that respect likewise, and establishes a rule of rating the value of ourselves, and others, different from that of the multitude. The dignity of

* Arrian. Epict. lib. i. c. 12, 14.

Digitized by Google

the more divine part of man is asserted*: the Cæsars, Herods, and Pilates, the high-priests, and scribes; the powerful, the rich, and the many, are of no note here†. False opinions, and an over valuation of riches, honours, and all the other meaner concerns of life, whence all vice arises, cannot be entertained where this knowledge is. ‡Our duty may, indeed, be divided into three parts, as settled by our three principal relations; to God, to other men, and to ourselves; and they may be differently termed, but they are but the main branches of the one moral science. If morals be disjoined from their relation to what is divine, and confined to a certain system of manners, contrived for the regulation of our own personal concerns of body and mind, and to guide us in our conduct amongst men, they then become something entirely different from what is before meant, and they dwindle into an Epicurean moral, an art of settling certain rules of behaviour upon a principle of interest, convenience, or pleasure. The case of religion is alike ill when so disjoined from human concerns; for then is the divine Being, like Epicurus's divinities, confined to the highest heavens, and unconcerned in the administration of the lower world. And this, in the Epicureans, was but excluding Providence from the world with a sort of compliment, that seems to have been intended as a screen from the reproach of atheism, rather than to have arisen from any real opinion of such beings: but real religion is the summit and completion of all knowledge; runs through all, and arises from collecting what is divine in all things. ‖The fowls of the air are fed; the stature of man is limited; §the lilies of the field are clothed

* Mat. xx. 25. xxi. 23, 31. xxii. 16, &c. xxiii. 2, &c. xxvii. 20.
† Luke vi. 24, &c. Mat. v. 29, 30.
‡ Ench. Epict. c. 37, 38, &c.
‖ Mat. xxvi. 26, 27, 28. § Mat. x. 29.

Digitized by Google

by Providence; without it a bird falls not to the ground, nor a hair from the head: this is Christianity, or the doctrine of our Saviour, is real religion, and is not to be found but in the mind of the wise and good, and of the few *who enter in at the strait gate.

But when religion comes to be spoken of as a national establishment, it is no longer the real, but makes part of the state; it has its lawful forms and ceremonies under the administration of its ministers, who are regulated by the state, and paid for their service. One may very justly think that he has but little knowledge of Christianity and real religion, who does not see the evident difference: if they are the same, then were the † Ephesian silversmiths, and the Sacheverells of all ages, and their followers, extremely religious: for great zealots they certainly were for the political religion, but in the real they had no knowledge, and had nothing to do with it.

The different turns that have been given to established religions, as governments have differed from each other, or changed within themselves, will serve to illustrate this distinction of religion into real and political. The Greek religion differed remarkably in cities and people that differed in their genius and policy. The best and bravest of the Greeks applied their principal worship to the noblest and most chaste of their deities, as to Juno or Pallas: others of them, that were more tyrannical in their form of civil government, and more loose in their manners, addressed their principal worship to a Venus or a Bacchus. The same deities had a chaste and decent worship paid them in one place, and, in another, a more pompous one, and more loose. This partiality of particular cities and people to particular deities, as their different forms of government and genius lead them, is intimated in Homer by the

* Mat. vii. 13. † Acts xix. 23.

Digitized by Google

great partiality he expresses in particular deities to particular cities and people. This divine partiality reached even to private men, and differed according to their characters: one deity favoured Achilles; another Ulysses; another Paris. As amongst states, which are political persons, and different in characters, one deity favoured Athens, another Argos, and another Paphos. The Roman religion, by the account of their historians, * was more plain and decent in their earlier and better times; but, in the time of Julius Cæsar, it was become full of lewdness and extravagance. Not very long after Julius, Christianity arose; it was the real and true religion in the breasts of its few true professors, long before its name was embraced by multitudes, armies, and emperors, and so became the public religion. After this its establishment, what has been the variety of forms it has appeared in? Through many changes, it at last appeared in the complete papal form, which long prevailed almost over all christendom. And, in this form, how many mean turns has it served? How has it been made subservient to the interest of princes and priests that were its votaries? About two hundred years ago, established Christianity took another turn, and appears now, in several nations, in different forms. But in England particularly, and since the change made at the reformation, how have some of our priests used it in different turns of government? Many have made it a support of the tyranny of princes, and destructive of the civil rights of men. Real Christianity, meanwhile, is none of all these changeable establishments and human institutions, nor ever can be, but stands upon its own foot; and whether it be the religion of the multitude, and national or not national, or whatever be the forms of it in national establishments, is one and the same in itself, firm and unalterable, and will undoubtedly remain to the end of

* Plutarch's Life of Numa. Dionysius Halicar. lib. ii.

Digitized by Google

the world, whether owned or not owned by any public establishment indifferently.

If it can still be objected, that real religion and Christianity are now become the established and political religion; and that, of consequence, they are the same, and not to be distinguished, I must, in answer, repeat, that real religion is the science of the Divinity, and of all things divine, and is to be learned from the great volume of nature, as well as from scripture; as geometry from Euclid, and other sciences from like means. And every man is so far knowing in a science as he has applied his own faculties to the laws of it; for no man is master of any science by another's understanding. This, therefore, stands entirely upon private judgment, and must ever do so. Established religion is a form of public worship, chosen by the public; and its rules are prescribed by the political power, with certain persons appointed to administer in it according to those settled rules. The political power of this nation has accordingly established a form, and has provided abundantly both for the education and maintenance of men to officiate in it; has ordered them, in public discourses, to instruct the people in real religion, as far as they are capable of it; and has appointed them the Scripture as the rule and measure of their instructions; with certain canons, articles, and rubrics, limiting times, forms, and ceremonies, farther than the Scripture does, and, in some instances, limiting likewise points of faith. But this it does modestly, with acknowledgment of its own fallibility; and, in consequence of this concession, it allows a liberty to dissent. Now, this stands upon the public judgment of the state. When, therefore, by foreign force, or intestine broils, the political frame is dissolved, all this form falls to the ground. But real religion certainly cannot be said to fall with it, unless one make all religion to be merely political, and a creature of the state;

Digitized by Google

which is direct atheism. And even while this Christian form happily subsists under a quiet government, and that nine parts in ten of a whole people embrace it, certainly no real Christian will say that nine parts in ten of so great a multitude are sincere, true, and real Christians; that the common herd of men, who are under a necessity of giving their whole time to the procuring themselves necessaries; or the men of business, who addict themselves to gain; or the prince or grandee, who prostitutes his time to pleasure and diversion, are truly Christian and religious upon principles of science. It must be owned, indeed, that the very worst and most ignorant of the multitude may have great zeal for the established religion, and this zeal, under wicked leaders, has raised the greatest tumults and disorders amongst men, and has carried Christians by profession to actions extremely unchristian and inhuman. Real and established Christianity must, therefore, be distinct, since they never fall together, and that they subsist together but in few instances. If religion have any thing to do with science or knowledge, this must be true. But there are many, I fear, that strike religion out of the catalogue of sciences, and list it among the blind passions of men; as does Hobbes, who defines religion "as fear of power invisible, from tales publicly told." And between him and some certain managers of religion, there is this difference, that he would have his civil sovereign be the only authentic teller of these tales; and these divines would be the tellers of them themselves. Both equally enemies to the understandings of men, but antagonists to each other about who shall hold the tyranny.

The mention of Mr. Hobbes suggests likewise some assertions of his, relating to man in the state of nature, and which, perhaps, may not seem to be entirely foreign to the present subject. He makes the natural state of man to be a state of war and en-

Digitized by Google

mity against each other; where there is no rule of just and unjust, right and wrong; where power is the only measure of right; and where fear and love of power are the chief passions of men. Now, had he been describing the state of men who had long lived under a political form of government, and who, upon the dissolution of it, had broken out into all the irregularities possible; a prince, on one side, claiming a sovereignty independent upon all human authority, and his partisans supporting him with arms, without much pretence to justice or honesty; and the chief leaders of the opposite faction acting with as little regard to natural justice, under a mask of sanctity and religion; he had then, indeed, made a just and natural description of such a state of man. But if he calls this the natural state of the human creature, as it came out of the hands of God, before its having lost its natural rule and law of life, before its being rendered corrupt and artificial, it seems evidently absurd. But Mr. Hobbes may be excused; for, as he charges the ancient writers of politics with copying their political schemes from the ancient commonwealths, so he plainly copied his picture of the human mind, and of his commonwealth, from his own mind, and from the state of things as he had seen them in those confused times, which had undoubtedly made that unfortunate impression of fear upon his mind, and gave it so wrong a turn. But, if one consider every species of creatures in the world, there is a certain natural rule and law of life belongs to each, with respect to their food and sustenance, to their living in herds, or otherwise to their defence against beasts that are naturally their enemies, to the sounds they are to express; their fears, their pains, their wants, and their pleasures; with respect to their places of rest, and to the whole economy of their young. Our common cattle, when wild, and in their natural state, have a natural rule in all these several re-

Digitized by Google

spects. They affect each other's company, and accordingly they herd; and, when they are grazing, if a beast of prey appear, "*the bull issues out for the sake of the herd:" or, †when they are attacked by man, there is a general motion amongst them, whilst the bulls advance, and place themselves in front against their adversaries, the cows range themselves behind their males, and the young retire behind all. They understand each other's sounds, and are affectionately careful of their young. This natural frame of passions, in each species of animals, distinguishes the kinds and the sexes; and the characters of the several animals are as much constituted by this inward form as they are distinguished by the outward. The lion and the tiger are both creatures of prey; but, in the character of the lion, it is said, that man has observed a ‡sort of generosity and gratitude that is not in the other. The elephant is entirely different from both the last mentioned, and has a character peculiar to itself; and so of all other creatures. The human creature, without doubt, has likewise, from nature, its inward frame, and a certain rule of life accordingly. If the words right and wrong, just and unjust, be only applicable to the arbitrary limitations of property, made by men already formed into political society, so let them be; they are then not to be applied to the natural state. But if, in the instance before, the bull should desert its part, and take the station of the cow or calf; if the cow should devour the young; or the calf should fear its own species, be adverse to it, and herd with goats or sheep; one might be allowed to say that this would be erring from the rule of nature; one might call it deformed, ugly, unnatural, and monstrous; as a steady adherence to this rule might be called beautiful, comely, natural, and being true to its part. Beauty and de-

* Arrian. Epict. lib. i, c. 2.

† Dampier, Vol. II. Part ii, page 99. ‡ A. Gellius L.

Digitized by Google

formity are not more evidently applicable to the outward form than to this inward one. Then, as to the character of the human creature in its natural state, without doing great wrong to ourselves in that state, and violence to our judgments in this, we cannot but think that we should naturally be as great lovers of each other's company as any other creature whatever; and, of consequence, should herd, and be social, ready to hazard ourselves for others of our kind, and for our young. It is not easy to imagine that we should be naturally savage and cruel; we should certainly have a horror and aversion to the feeding upon warm flesh and blood of expiring creatures, which some animals do with pleasure: we should as certainly loath and avoid the sight and smell of rotten carcases, which is the delight of others; our food would be of another kind: we should certainly have as great an affection to our young as any other creature has to theirs: we should certainly be as sagacious as any in providing, either in common or otherwise, for all our little needs in that state, and, perhaps, a great deal more than any other. But what our natural language would be, what our food would consist of, how the order and rule between male and female, with respect to themselves and to their young, would then stand, both as to the continuance and manner of that particular relation; these are things that are not to be limited with any certainty now. But, in the whole, it seems evident enough, that we are naturally a mild, gentle, sociable, and * compassionate creature. Ambition, and grasping at high posts in the state, and our present artificial set of passions, and the barbarous transgressions of rule and order that have followed upon them, belong not to that state of things. This natural state of ours was the golden age of the ancient heathen world; and if the account that Moses gives of Paradise before the fall

Digitized by Google

be allegory, and not fact, as Dr. Burnet, in his Archæologia asserts, our natural state was certainly represented by that allegory. Besides, there seems to be little reason to doubt but that men, under civil government, would be as manageable, by their magistrates, as flocks and herds by their pastors and shepherds, were it not for the vice and ignorance of such human herdsmen and pastors, "did but they," as Xenophon says, "act their part with understanding and skill." And then, even upon the dissolution of government, and things being brought to confusion, as there is, in all things, a beautiful rule and order set by nature, so here would there be still a rule. The arrogant, the proud, the ambitious, such as thought all their fellow creatures made to serve their ends, would act without regard to religion, to faith, to all that was excellent and beautiful; and the extent of their power would be their only measure: but, perhaps, a few would still be faithful, modest, brave, humane, and religious, and would act or suffer handsomely; at least there would be an evident difference in the characters of men so left to themselves, in proportion to their sense of this natural and divine rule, as this was preserved untainted in their minds, and not sullied or obliterated by vile and unnatural sentiments and passions.

By what has been before said, it may be decided, whether the independence of religion upon civil government may be justly claimed or no. The thing decides itself plainly: real religion is a mental thing; "*It is not here nor there, but within us; †It is not of this world." Or, had it been so, our Saviour had made an appeal to arms, and to the powers of this world. It is absolutely independent, and has nothing to do with the magistrate: it is a thing of a nobler nature, and its truths are yet less subject to political jurisdiction, than mathematical truths, which it would be ridiculous to say that the magi-

* Luke xvii, 21 † John xviii, 36.

Digitized by Google

strate ought to decide in. But to say that the government has nothing to do with the national religion, which itself established and made national, seems very absurd; and for the ministers, whose forms are prescribed them by the political power, whose privileges are limited by the same, who are indebted to the public for their education and maintenance, to say that they are independent upon it, seems a little arrogant. It is, undoubtedly, proper that every nation should have their artists in religious concerns, as the * Persians had; but if these men assert, that they are the last resort in affairs of religion, let the priesthood consist of those who, of all the proprietors of the territory, are most venerable for nobility of birth, for wisdom, for years passed with untainted integrity; these will be better directors than the necessitous, the mean of birth, the unwise, and the young; but can be no more than proposers and helps to men in their choice; the last resort remains still with the choosers.

When the public, therefore, has chosen its religion, which must be done, both that it may discharge its own duty, and to prevent the multitude's being left undirected, and at the mercy of superstition and every private guide, it may then be asked, whether this religious establishment ought to be imposed upon all private men? That it may be imposed by power is certain; for the magistrates and multitude, or the absolute monarch and his army, after having made their own choice, may act in this as they please. If they are heathen, they may impose the worship of plurality of gods; if they are Turks or Jews, they may oblige a man to deny our Saviour to be the Christ and son of God: if corrupt pretenders to Christianity, they may oblige one to say that Christianity is what it is not; and they may, any of them, if they please, oblige one to say, that there are no antipodes; that eclipses will not hap-

* Cyropædia.

Digitized by Google

pen according to astronomical observations; that the three angles of a triangle are not equal to two right ones; or, upon refusal, they may inflict punishment at will. But will and power are often used unjustly and unwisely. The papacy is well known to use this imposing power; and Hobbes, who is a passionate advocate of arbitrary power, recommends this use of it in his Leviathan. But there seems not to be much justice or humanity, and as little of Christianity in the practice. And, with respect to these impositions in affairs of religion, and the misery that ever attends them, the case seems to be this: that they are not the original cause of misery and confusion, but the corrupt effects only of the dissolution or imperfection of political forms of government, or of ignorance and vice in princes; for, if a decent form of religion be established by the political power, there will be but few that will be dissenting from it; and a liberty in this kind is what the generosity, justice, and benignity of good governments will always allow. But, if the political orders are broken, and the multitude deprived of their orderly guidance and leading, they then form themselves into separate herds, as ignorance, superstition, and corrupt interests lead them; and fall foul of one another. And this is the fertile soil of tyranny: hence sprung the Cæsars, the Mahomets, the Popes, and the Cromwells: creatures of multitudes, that have been destitute of the blessing of just and wise political orders. And in such circumstances of men, the laws of justice and humanity find no place. So that when men hear of strange absurdities imposed, and great cruelties practised in consequence of them, instead of venting a great deal of wrath against the craft and wickedness of priests, they ought rather to lament the distempers that societies of men are subject to. As for instance: the Romans were a society of men formed from a collection of thieves and plunderers; who, when they had

Digitized by Google

fixed themselves a habitation, made it a spunge to collect criminals of all sorts, and such as were too vile to subsist under their own government. The way that their historians took to render their original divine, was, by relating that the god of war debauched a priestess professing chastity; from this conjunction of war and violence with unchastity, and breach of religious professions, there came the two youths, that sucked the milk of a female beast of prey; one of these youths murdered the other, and founded Rome. However this fable may have been taken as compliment, it looks like the artful contrivance of some Greek, to give, under this disguise, a character of the Roman state. This city, thus formed, proceeded upon its first principles, and made its progress by plunder and rapine; had little else in its frame but what was military. Their booty and conquests were distributed, indeed, but never justly, even under what they call their commonwealth*. The common people were generally abused and cheated in it, though there were perpetual quarrels about their dividends. And as this city, at last, enslaved almost the whole world, so it destroyed every thing that carried the face of civil government. Then it corrupted still further within itself, and changed into a monstrous tyranny. Letters, arts, and sciences sunk throughout the world. Then, when this tyranny corrupted and decayed, the ecclesiastical leviathan began to raise its head; and, when it fell quite to pieces, and became divided into several parts, independent upon each other, the ecclesiastical republic asserted its dominion over all; and, in the midst of these ruins, formed its independent policy. When, therefore, the corruption of civil governments, and the ignorance of princes, has given existence to such forms, can it be expected that men should be false to their own public? Can it be thought that men, who are

* Plutarch, Vid. Num.

Digitized by Google

trained up from their youth in a certain order and form, distinct from the civil, without dependence upon it, or expectations of honours or rewards, but in degrees and orders of their own, and under their own governors, should act for an establishment foreign to their own? When they must know that their own foundations stand upon the ruin of civil forms, and must owe their continuance to the depression of them? Men's zeal in this case is not to be wondered at. If they who are in the civil interest will entirely discharge themselves of the noblest knowledge in the world, of all judgment in what is pleasing or displeasing to God, and will leave the sovereign decision in these matters to others, it is certainly just that they to whom these matters are thus left, should prescribe to those who are thus abandoned to ignorance; should tell them how to behave in their families; how to govern their own persons; how to act in converse and dealings with others; how to act in the public; and should dictate to them in all things. And the particular policy of these divines ought, with still more reason, to be left entirely to themselves. Some nations have, indeed, protested against this hierarchy; and, in most others, there is a greater disposition to judge for themselves than is pleasing to the ecclesiastics. Letters, science, and arts, have within these two or three centuries revived. But if the civil forms that are now established in the world, moulder away to nothing, by means of the corruption and ignorance of the managers, the ecclesiastics will justly become their masters. For, as *Cyrus says, "God has so established things, that they who will not impose upon themselves the task of labouring for their own advantage, shall have other task-masters given them." Supposing, then, that the ecclesiastics have reduced the rest of men to their obedience, as every the meanest priest is entitled to rise to the highest

* Cyropædia.

Digitized by Google

dignities; and, when admitted to his freedom in the hierarchy, is not debarred from knowledge and letters, as those of the laity are; as their monarch and grandees are elective, and not hereditary; and the absolute sovereignty is not lodged in the single person, but their general councils claim a share with him in it; the body of them then ought to take care that their own chiefs do not affect a tyranny over them, and serve them as Cæsar did Rome. And then if the virtue of their frame be preserved till after they have broken the lay interest to pieces, they may then, perhaps, assume the sword into their own hands, as the Templars, who were an order amongst them, were once possessed of it; and may come to think it fit to transmit the property of the world to their own children, and not choose their successors from amongst the children of their servants and vassals. This will be the spring of a new civil interest, much wiser than that upon whose ruins it is built; and it will continue so, while the ingenious and free cultivate knowledge, and hold the sword. But let them once give up knowledge, and drop the sword into the hands of hirelings, they must submit to the consequence of having their servants become their masters. The priesthood, thus supposed masters of the world, may then, perhaps, divide themselves into distinct governments, by distinct territories. And though they are not now so divided, yet they ought, in truth, to be accounted a civil government within themselves, distinct from all others. And if one consider the share of property and revenue that they were possessed of in the several countries of Europe, they will be found to be a very great and powerful state. Mean while it matters not what the things are that are imposed upon men, who give up their judgments in the greatest concerns; for even truths published for men's belief, when received without knowledge and understanding, are no better than tales and forgeries.

Digitized by Google

As religion is divided into two heads of science, so may virtue be divided into several; as, for instance, into real, political, and military, as well as others. The real falls into the head of morals and real religion, and is one and the same thing under several names. But temperance, with respect to eating and drinking, to be able to deny one's self one's usual rest, ability to undergo toil and labour, to sleep in open air, contempt of danger and death; these are military virtues, that may arise from custom and institution, or from necessity, or from ambition, and may be the virtues of robbers and pirates. The hero in the following papers will give you cause to think of this distinction, particularly in his speech when he is grown a man, and is setting out upon his *Median expedition, as well as upon many other occasions.

What is here sent you, to take up some hours of your leisure, relates to religion, as well as to politics and war, though this last seems to be the chief subject of it.

As to politics, the account given of the Medes and Assyrians, the luxury and effeminacy of the Median court, the absolute dependence of all upon the prince's will, the effeminacy and meanness of the people, the poorness of their military discipline, the manner of protecting the territory by fortresses and garrisons, the waste of lands upon the borders inhabited only by wild beasts, show the nature of arbitrary governments. The nobler orders established amongst the Persians, the education of the ingenious amongst them, the rights of sovereignty lodged in a public council, and laws of public weal established as guides both to prince and people, bravery in the people, and wisdom in their military discipline, show the virtue and power of free governments. There seems indeed to be something in the story that suggests this defect to be in the Persian frame; that the free, the ingenious, the gentlemen, the no-

* Cyropædia.

Digitized by Google

ble, (call them by which name you please,) are reduced to too little a number; and too small a number of great ones commonly implies their riches to be too great with respect to the rest of the people: or, if the riches and power of the gentleman be but inconsiderable, and that the people have them not, then the prince remains too weighty in the scale, and the rest are but dependents and servants. Now, in either of these cases, the ambition of great families, or that of a single one, always prevents the division of the riches and estates amongst greater numbers, and presses on to further increase, till the few become yet fewer, or the single one yet greater; and, at last, either the prince, or one of the overgrown few, by riches and numerous dependents, assumes the tyranny; then to him all become servants, his will is then the only law; he must hold his power by an army; and to complete all, must hold his own head at the will of that army. This shows the folly of the abettors of arbitrary sway, who pronounce it to be so vile a thing, for the prince to be said to hold his power at the will of the multitude. Whereas the prince must of necessity hold at the will of a multitude; for, supposing him to have destroyed the interest of the honest multitude, who were in possession of the lands and commerce of a country, and to have subjected their power by means of an army, he must then of necessity hold his own power at the will of that multitude of mercenaries. Whoever knows any thing of the story of the Roman and Turkish armies and emperors, and considers the nature of things, must see that an absolute prince is a creature and servant of a military multitude, and ever comes uppermost when the mercenary crew have destroyed the civil power. So that in politics the voice of the people is the voice of God, and multitude must and will be the last resort here. *Julius Cæsar, and all the able attempters of ty-

* Dyonis. Halicar. upon Aristodemus, lib. vii. Suetonius, lib. i.

Digitized by Google

ranny in the ancient world, understood their art too well to be ignorant of this, and accordingly they laid themselves out entirely in the culture and service of their armies, and of such part of the civil multitude as were most corrupt and necessitous: their own private fortunes were entirely sacrificed to this. All that they acquired by conquest, was applied to this, as well as all that they could plunder from their government and fellow citizens; for upon this did their sovereignty depend. Octavius, the nephew and heir of Julius, could not entirely gain his point till, by little arts of his own and by the folly of his competitors, the most and best of the legions were brought to declare for him, and to establish him sovereign. Where, therefore, was the last resort and foundation of sovereignty in this case? It belongs only to the poor pedantic modern patrons of tyranny, who mix religion and politics together, to talk of sovereignty by divine right, * independent upon human authority, and accountable only to God; and it belongs only to very weak and conceited affectors of tyranny to give ear to such poor instructors. There is no manner of doubt but that it has been one of the most common arts of tyranny to bring heaven, and all that is sacred upon earth, into its interest! † Pisistratus, when restored to the tyranny at Athens, dressed up a woman to personate the goddess Pallas, as if the goddess favoured him so far as to introduce him, and attend in her own person at his restoration. Julius Cæsar, in an oration he made at the funeral of an aunt, derived himself, by his grandmother, from Ancus, one of the kings of Rome; and by his father, from the goddess Venus. After his death, and at the celebration of the first honours paid him as a god, a blazing star appeared, which was given out, and by some believed, to be the soul of Julius received into heaven among the deities. Others of the Roman

* Clarendon's History. † Herodotus, lib. i.

Digitized by Google

monarchs were likewise deified; so that the elder Vespasian made a jest of it; and when he was taken violently ill, he cried out, "I believe I am going to be a god." A multitude of things of this kind might be mentioned. There is a natural gratitude in the people to the descendants of those that have been benefactors to men, or are thought to have been so; and a natural deference to superior and divine powers; and erectors of tyranny, who have had neither knowledge of God, nor regard to him themselves, nor love to man, always act the impostors, and abuse and play upon the understandings and passions of the multitude. The claim of divine right is the modern art; and princes would undoubtedly have still more divinity and sanctity bestowed upon them, as they had in old days, if the ecclesiastics were not competitors with them in it, and could spare it from themselves. But even these frauds can never be of any effect, if they fail of their intended influence upon the people. Cæsar, therefore, trusted to other means: he never talked so idly of sovereignty, protection, and obedience, as some modern dealers in politics, *who confound themselves and others with these words. Cæsar's empire, and that of Cyrus, mentioned in the following papers, were not built upon such foundations. Absolute sovereignty is never applicable to a prince, whether at the head of a legal government or of a tyranny; for, in a legal government, the prince has law for his rule as well as the people: his property and rights are limited by that rule; and so are those of the people. The laws and orders of government are the protection both of prince and people: but, if the prince affect to be absolute sovereign and lord of all, he must nurse up and cultivate a body of soldiery, sufficient for the work, and unite them in interest with him, to dissolve the legal frame. Then, if he succeeds, the people are-

* Clarendon's History.

Digitized by Google

indeed protected; as the people of Turky are protected; and as the people of Rome were under their emperors; and the army becomes the prince's protection, and in reality sovereign. But how such sovereignty differs from tyranny, how such protection differs from power to oppress, and how such obedience and subjection differs from servitude, can never be made out. And, as tyrannies rise thus in a particular state, so great empires, that are but extended tyrannies, make their way through the world by the vice and impotence of neighbouring states. Whereas, by order within themselves, friendship and good faith with each other, little states repel the impotent attacks of great empires, that are powerful only by the vice and weakness of their neighbours. Such hints in the course of the story, and the observations that may be made upon them, seem to me to let one more into political knowledge than most of the books and pamphlets that are now written upon that subject.

The advices given, with respect to the art of war, are obvious; and, with all their plainness, are more than most of our present military men now think of.

And the few instructions, with respect to the established religion and the priests of those days, are not unapplicable to our present times. Nor can it be said but that the spirit of piety and deference to superior powers, which runs through the whole, though blended with the established rites, does in some measure relate to real religion, and must needs be pleasing to those who have a sense of it.

The following papers contain a plain translation of the Cyropædia, or Institution of Cyrus, written by Xenophon, who lived about four hundred years before the birth of our Saviour, in an age productive of great men; though it was the age in which expired those noble forms of government, to which all future ages are indebted for literature, and all noble knowledge. He saw the republics of Greece,

Digitized by Google

after their brave defence against the Persian power in the age before, by wars amongst themselves, nursing up a brood of mercenaries to be their own destruction, which was completed by Philip of Macedon, at the battle of Chæronea. He was a friend and disciple of Socrates, that great man, who was a remarkable instance of what is before observed* with respect to the consequences of broken governments; for he fell a sacrifice to faction; and one of his accusations was, a disregard to the established religion, he who had evidently the utmost regard to real religion, had as much knowledge of it as was possible, and was ever strictly observant of the established forms: his disciple, Xenophon, felt likewise the displeasure of his countrymen the Athenians, for his partiality to the interests of Sparta, and, of consequence, for not favouring the turbulent ambitious measures that his own city approved. Xenophon was extremely beautiful in his person, † and had great modesty and goodness of temper. He was a man of great knowledge and learning, but it was of an ingenious, noble, gentleman-like sort; not sedentary, not pedantic, and not servile, as all learning may justly be called that is acquired to get money or maintenance by; he was a great master of political and military skill; he was extremely religious, and very knowing in all the established rites and ceremonies, of which he was a strict observer upon all occasions. The precept he puts into the mouth of Cambyses, father of Cyrus, never to engage in any action without consulting the gods, makes a remarkable passage in his book to this purpose. He puts several cases wherein men had sadly miscarried by means of neglect in this kind, and, though he does not name persons, yet it seems evident that he had his eye to particular men, well known to himself and to his countrymen in those days. And what he says of certain persons,

* Page 19. † Diog. Laert. Life of Xenophon.

Digitized by Google

who had engaged their country in ruinous wars, seems evidently meant of Alcibiades, who engaged the Athenians in other wars, as well as particularly that of Sicily*, which brought destruction or servitude upon all such of them as were personally engaged in that service, and, in the consequence, occasioned the loss of their government and city. Alcibiades was likewise very beautiful in his person; was undoubtedly master of many civil arts; had eloquence, bravery, and military skill; but, with respect to religion and virtue, he was the reverse of Xenophon: he had no sense of it, but was what one may justly call a free-thinker of those days, and expressed it by a contempt of what his country held sacred. Xenophon's manner of pointing him out thus, allowing the application to be just, seems a direct charge upon him of impiety, and history sufficiently justifies that charge.

As free-thinking is an expression that has caused some discourse in the world, and may admit of different senses, perhaps you will not think it improper that some mention should be made of it. It may signify, a roving exercise of the mind, running over all or any of the subjects of science idly and superficially, without binding itself to any settled judgment of the truth of things, as if there were no such thing as a rule of truth in nature. So liberty in government may be defined, a liberty to act as will and humour guides without regard to justice or law, as if there was no such thing as justice to limit man in his conduct. Julius Cæsar said, "† That his words were to be taken for laws; that commonwealth and public good were nothing; a mere name, without body or form ‡." "Virtue," say the free-thinkers of this sort, is a mere word, as "a sacred grove is only a sanctified expression for a parcel of sticks." But true political liberty consists in a strict,

* Plutarch's Life of Alcibiades. † Suetonius Jul. Cæs.
‡ Horace, Epist. 6. lib i.

Digitized by Google

severe obedience to just and equal laws and orders, established for the public good; and it is called liberty, as it excludes dependence upon will and pleasure, which is tyranny. So just freedom of thought is true science, which consists in the necessary determination of the understanding to the truth of things, when every means of discovering it has had its due weight, in order to make the evidence complete, and the decision just. But then, if any one thing affect the mind about its due proportion, the impression it makes prevents the mind's submission to truth; and, if the impression be very great, it causes madness, and establishes a tyranny in the mind; to which the overgrown power of a prince, or grandees, in the state, may be compared, as distraction and madness in government. Admiration of riches, of grandeur, of beauty of person, and other strong impressions, tyrannize often in men's minds, obstruct right judgments in religion and morals, and cause wrong practice; and love, grief, or fear, when excessive, overturns the sound constitution of a mind; and soundness and consistence of mind may be called freedom, as they exclude this tyranny of passion. As passion is a domestic oppressor of liberty of mind, so are there a sort of foreign oppressors of it: these are the Hobbists, and the favourers of ecclesiastical tyranny. No real religion in the world, say these men; no rule of right, or public good in the state; no virtue in man; but all depends upon tales authorized, and laws imposed by power and will. Now, true freedom of thought here, is to assert a providence, wisdom, and intelligence in the world; a rule and order in societies of men, upon the bottom of public good; virtue and worth in man; and a rule of truth in all things, which to discover is man's wisdom, and to follow it is his virtue, freedom, and happiness. But the abettors of free-thinking, now-a-days, seem to be men who, having got a few steps above the bi-

Digitized by Google

gotry of the poor multitude, are transported out of themselves*, exult at their own imagined elevation, look down upon the rest of men as wandering in the paths of error; and this they do with pleasure. † They address themselves, with Lucretius, to their goddess Venus and her attendant pleasures, and cultivate them in a vicious way: they ridicule what the public holds sacred; they represent religion as a spectre oppressing the minds of men, and exclude deity from the world. These answer to the ancient Epicureans; though none of them, perhaps, are equal to their patron Epicurus, who seemed to have more worth and goodness than was consistent with his own maxims‡. There was, in ancient times, another sort of men; who, between the asserters of providence and virtue on one side, and the abettors of atheism and pleasure on the other, opposed both of them in their opinions, and in the proofs they brought to establish them. These were the sceptics; and they maintained a total suspense of opinion, and absence of passion‖. They were men of great ability in reasoning; and seemed to have laboured so much in the culture of that art, that they lost sight of truth and certainty. There may have been, perhaps, in our times, certain free-thinkers, affected mimics of these men; but they seem to be far short of them in their intense application of mind. These modern sceptics would scarce let their hair and nails grow, like Carneades§, nor be in danger of being overrun by chariots, torn by dogs, or of falling down precipices, without minding or avoiding it, like Pyrrho. They are rather loose rovers through various opinions, sincere in none; using any opinion to defeat a contrary one; borrowing arguments from the atheists to oppose the religionist, and borrowing from the religionist

* Lucretius, lib. ii. v. 7. † Ibid. lib. i. v. 1. &c. v. 63, 79.
‡ Cicero Jus. Quest. lib. ii. ‖ Diog. Laert. Pyrrho.
§ Diog. Laert.

Digitized by Google

to defeat the atheist and Epicurean; adversaries, at times, to all. This is so far from strict application of mind, that it is an idle, dissolute prostitution of it; and may be compared to the behaviour of such men in the state, who favour neither one scheme nor another, nor close with any interest sincerely, nor are sincerely neuter; but, as it serves their turn, are occasionally zealous for every party, which is prostitution in politics. This turn of mind has the same effect in private life; it acts the frolicsome, the burlesque, and the gay; the sober, the serious, the austere; the religious and the prophane, as humour guides, or as there is a turn to serve. It maintains no one genuine personage, but has a different mask for every different scene; and it regards neither justice nor truth. This is prostitution of another kind; and prostitution of person completes the corrupt character. * Alcibiades and Julius Cæsar had their share of this character. And to instance in one of a degree inferior to these, Menon was of this sort; one who was an officer that attended the younger Cyrus in his expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, and who is thus characterized by Xenophon: "He was a passionate lover of money; he loved power and command, that he might get by it; and he loved honours, in order still to make the more advantage. He affected the friendship of men in power, to escape the punishment of his injustice. He thought that the shortest way to gain his ends was by perjury, falsehood, and deceit. Simplicity and truth he thought the same as folly. He apparently loved no one: whoever he professed himself a friend to, he was evidently plotting mischief against. He contemned no enemy, but conversed always in such a manner with his friends, as if he ridiculed and laughed at them. He formed no designs to seize the possessions of his enemies, for he thought it difficult to prey upon

* Plutarch Suetonius.

Digitized by Google

such as were upon their guard; but he thought himself the only person who knew that it was the easiest thing in the world to seize the unguarded possessions of his friends. Those that he observed to be unjust and regardless of oaths, he feared as men well prepared and armed. Men of piety and truth, as weak and unmanly, he endeavoured to make his uses of. The pleasure that another takes in religion, truth, and justice, he took in being able to deceive, in falsehood, and ridiculing his friends. The man who was not a knave, he thought ignorant and silly. Those with whom he affected to be a chief favourite, he thought he was to gain by calumniating their chief friends. His contrivance to render his soldiers obedient to him, was to share with them in their crimes. He required respect and service, by showing that it was both in his power and in his will to do injuries. When any one had renounced his friendship, he declared that it was an act of bounty in him, that, while he used him as a friend, he did not ruin him. He lived in an infamous commerce with one Thurypas, who was older than himself; and was himself a prostitute, in his youth, to the barbarian Ariceus."

This treatise of the institution of Cyrus is undoubtedly fabulous. The Iliad and Odysseid of Homer are fables likewise, though of another kind. And there is certainly no more pretence to truth of fact, in this of Xenophon, than those of Homer: yet the whole of it is so true to nature, that it may be said to be almost as natural as if it were really fact; and, of consequence, is instructive, and, perhaps, more instructive, than what is called real history; there being very little of that which is not abundantly more false to fact than these ancient fables are to nature. There is, indeed, a plainness and simplicity in this piece of Xenophon, that may seem childish and contemptible to some judgments: but what our Saviour said to his disciples, when he

Digitized by Google

placed a child in the midst of them, * "Unless you become as little children, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven;" and what he says in another place, † "When the eye is single, the whole body is full of light," may be applied to the disposition of the mind, with respect to all other good knowledge, as well as with respect to religion. Your disposition of mind is thus chaste and single, and you therefore will perhaps not be displeased with this.

There have been some, who have imagined that the establishments made by Xenophon's Cyrus are a model of perfect government: others, however, will reckon that Cyrus is no more proposed as a model to be followed, than Achilles is in the Iliad of Homer. The wrathful great man, and the effects of his wrath, are plainly seen in the Iliad, and the ambitious great man, and the effects of his ambition, are as plainly to be seen in the Cyreid. The arts that Cyrus used with private men, and with whole nations, in order to gain them to his purpose, were certainly right; but this does not prove that that purpose of his was honest. In like manner, all his regulations, with respect to the establishment of his scheme of tyranny, were as certainly rightly contrived to serve that end; but yet this is no proof that such tyranny is not a most unjust, unequal, and barbarous establishment. And, when the foundation and rise of the empire of Cyrus is directly ascribed to a free government; when his own education under such a government appears to be the foundation of all the virtue that he has; and when the effects of this empire erected are declared to be a general defection from all virtue in the people, and the misery of the prince's own family; then, let any one judge whether the moral of this fable of Xenophon's does decide in favour of tyranny.

I know the affectionate concern you have for the

* Mat. xviii. 3. xix. 14. † Mat. vi. 22.

Digitized by Google

liberty of your country; which you value, that the integrity and simplicity of human minds may be protected, and not overborne by tyrannical impositions, or debauched by imposture; that they may be kept as the chaste spouse of divine truth; and that innocence and virtue may not be violated by the ungoverned passions of the mighty. I know the joy you ever expressed for your country's successes in a just war. You will therefore allow this to be my excuse, for thinking these subjects not improper to entertain you with. I cannot but believe that even the statesman, the soldier, the divine, and the learned in the law, of our present age, would readily excuse the addressing these matters to a lady, when they should consider that this is but the translation (and indeed pretends to be no very good one) of a book where these subjects are treated in a childish, romantic way, and not so suitable to their understandings. They will be little concerned that such an author should recommend the sciences and arts of war and government, of justice and religion, to the study of the gentleman: for, by means of ignorance in these things, the gentleman is rendered incapable of judging whether the mercenary in these professions do their duty for their money. The noblest arts are thus left to the mercenary alone, and they become the guides and governors of the world.

Digitized by Google

CYROPÆDIA;

OR, THE

INSTITUTION OF CYRUS.

BOOK I.

I HAVE heretofore considered how many popular governments have been dissolved by men who chose to live under any other sort of government rather than the popular; and how many monarchies, and how many oligarchies have been destroyed by the people; and how many of those who have attempted tyrannies have, some of them, been instantly and entirely destroyed; and others, if they have continued reigning but for any time, have been admired as able, wise, and happy men. And I thought I observed many masters, in their own private houses, some possessing more servants, some but very few, who yet were not able to preserve those few entirely obedient to their commands. I considered withal that keepers of oxen, and keepers of horses are, as it were, the magistrates and rulers of those oxen and horses; and, in general, all those called pastors or herdsmen may be properly accounted the magistrates of the animals they rule. I saw, I thought, all these several herds more willing to obey their pastors, than men their magistrates. For these herds go the way that their keepers direct them; they feed on those lands

Digitized by Google

upon which their keepers throw them; they abstain from those from which their keepers drive them; they suffer their keepers to make what use they please of the fruits and profits that arise from them. Besides, I never did percieve a herd conspiring against its keepers, either so as not to obey them, or so as not to allow them the use of the fruits arising from them. Herds are rather more refractory towards any others than they are towards their rulers, and those who make profit of them; but men conspire against none sooner than against those whom they perceive undertaking the government of them. When these things were in my mind, I came to this judgment upon them; that, to man, it was easier to rule every other sort of creature than to rule man. But when I considered that there was the Persian Cyrus, who had rendered many men, many cities, and many nations, obedient to himself; upon this I was necessitated to change my opinion, and to think that the government of men was not amongst the things that were impossible, nor amongst the things that are difficult, if one undertook it with understanding and skill. I knew there were those that willingly obeyed Cyrus, who were many days' journey distant from him; those who were months; those who had never seen him; and those who knew very well that they never should see him; yet would they submit to his government: for he so far excelled all other kings, both those that received their dominion by succession, as well as those that acquired it themselves, that the Scythian, for example, though his people be very numerous, has not been able to obtain the dominion of any other nation, but rests satisfied if he hold but the rule of his *own;* the Thracian the same; the Illyrian the same; and other nations (as I have heard) the same. For the nations of Europe are said to be yet sovereign and independent of each other. But Cyrus, finding, in like manner, the nations of Asia so-

Digitized by Google

vereign and independent; and setting forward with a little army of Persians, obtained the dominion of the Medes by their own choice and voluntary submission; of the Hircanians the same. He conquered the Syrians, Assyrians, Arabs, Capadocians, both Phrygias, the Lydians, Carians, Phœnicians, and Babylonians. He ruled the Bactrians, Indians, and Cilicians; in like manner the Sacians, Paphlagonians, and Megadinians, and many other nations, whose names one cannot enumerate. He ruled the Greeks that were settled in Asia; and, descending to the sea, the Cyprians and Egyptians. These nations he ruled, though their languages differed from his own and from each other; and yet was he able to extend the fear of himself over so great a part of the world as to astonish all, and that no one attempted any thing against him. He was able to inspire all with so great a desire of pleasing him, that they ever desired to be governed by his opinion and will. He connected together so many nations as would be a labour to enumerate, to whatsoever point one undertook to direct one's course, whether it were east, west, north, or south, setting out from his palace and seat of empire. With respect, therefore, to this man, as worthy of admiration, I have enquired by what birth, with what natural disposition, and under what discipline and education bred, he so much excelled in the art of governing men. And whatever I have learned, or think I know, concerning him, I shall endeavour to relate.

Cyrus is said to be descended from Cambyses, king of the Persians, as his father. Cambyses was of the race of the Perseidæ, who were so called from Perseus. It is agreed that he was born of a mother called Mandane; and Mandane was the daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes. Cyrus is said to have had by nature a most beautiful person, and a mind of the greatest benignity and love to mankind, most desirous of knowledge, and most ambitious of glory;

Digitized by Google

so as to bear any pain, and undergo any danger, for the sake of praise; and he is yet celebrated as such among the barbarians. Such is he recorded to have been with respect to his mind and person; and he was educated under the institutions and laws of the Persians.

These laws seem to begin with a provident care of the common good; not where those of most other governments begin: for most other governments, giving to all a liberty of educating their children as they please, and to the advanced in age a liberty of living as they please, do then enjoin their people not to steal, not to plunder, not to enter a house by violence, not to strike unjustly, not to be adulterous, not to disobey the magistrates, and other things in like manner; and, if any transgress, they impose punishments upon them: but the Persian laws, taking things higher, are careful, from the beginning, to provide that their citizens shall not be such as to be capable of meddling with any action that is base and vile. And that care they take in this manner: they have a public place, called from the name of liberty, where the king's palace and the other courts and houses of magistrates are built; all things that are bought and sold, and the dealers in them, their noise and low, disingenuous manners, are banished hence to another place; that the rout of these may not mix and interfere with the decent order of those who are under the ingenuous discipline. This place, near the public courts, is divided into four parts: one is allotted to the boys, one to the youth, one to the full-grown men, and one to those who exceed the years of military service. Each of these orders, according to the law, attend in their several parts; the boys and full-grown men as soon as it is day; the elders when they think convenient, except upon appointed days, when they are obliged to be present; the youth take up their rest round the courts, in their light arms; all but such as are married; these are not re-

Digitized by Google

quired to do it, unless beforehand ordered to attend; nor is it decent for them to be absent often. Over each of the orders there are twelve rulers, for the Persians are divided into twelve tribes. Those over the boys are chosen from amongst the elders, and such as are thought to make them the best boys: those over the youth are chosen from amongst the full-grown men, and such as are thought to make the best youth: and over the full-grown men, such as are thought to render them the most ready to perform their appointed parts, and to execute the orders they receive from the chief magistrate. There are likewise chosen presidents over the elders, who take care that these also perform their duty. And, that it may appear what means they use to make their citizens prove the best, I shall now relate what part is appointed for each degree.

The boys, who frequent the public places of instruction, pass their time in learning justice; and tell you, that they go for that purpose, as those with us, who go to learn letters, tell you they go for this purpose. Their rulers, for the most part of the day, continue dispersing justice amongst them; for, as amongst the men, so the boys have against each other their accusations for theft, robbery, violence, deceit, and calumny, and other such things as naturally occur; and when they find any acting unjustly, in any of these ways, they punish them; they punish likewise such as they find guilty of false accusation; they appeal to justice also in the case of a crime for which men hate one another excessively, but never bring to the bar of justice, that is, ingratitude; and whomsoever they find able to return a benefit, and refusing to do it, they punish severely. For they are of opinion, that the ungrateful are careless and neglectful both of the gods, of their parents, of their country, and of their friends; and ingratitude seems to be certainly attended by impudence; and this seems to be the principal conductor of mankind into all

Digitized by Google

things that are vile. They instil into the boys a modest and discreet temper of mind; and it contributes much towards establishing this temper in them, that they see every day their elders behaving themselves in that discreet and modest manner. They teach them obedience to their rulers, and it contributes much to their instruction, in this, that they see their elders zealously obedient to their rulers. They teach them temperance with respect to eating and drinking; and it contributes much to this their temperance, to see that their elders do not quit their stations for the service of their bellies, before the magistrates dismiss them; and that the boys do not eat with their mothers but with their teachers, and when the magistrates give the signal. They bring from home with them bread for their food, and a sort of herb, much in use with them, to eat with it. And they bring a cup to drink in, that if any are thirsty, they may take from the river. They learn, besides, to shoot with the bow, and to throw the javelin. These things the boys practise till they are sixteen or seventeen years of age; then they enter the order of youth. The youth pass their time thus: for ten years after they pass from the order of boys, they take their rests around the courts, as is said before, both for the security and guard of the city, and to preserve in them a modesty and governableness of temper; for this age seems the most to need care. In the day time they chiefly give themselves up to be made use of by their magistrates, in case they want them for any public service; and when it is necessary they all attend about the courts. But when the king goes out to hunt, he takes half the guard off with him; and this he does several times every month. Those that go must have their bow and quiver, a smaller sort of sword, in its proper scabbard, a shield and two javelins; one to throw, and the other, if necessary, to use at hand. They are careful to keep up these public huntings; and the king, as in war, is, in this, their leader, hunts

Digitized by Google

himself, and takes care that others do so; because it seems to be the truest method of practising all such things as relate to war. It accustoms them to rise early in the morning, and to bear heat and cold; it exercises them in long marches, and in running; it necessitates them to use their bow against the beast they hunt, and to throw their javelin, if he fall in their way: their courage must, of necessity, be often sharpened in the hunt, when any of the strong and vigorous beasts oppose themselves; they must come to blows with the beast, if he comes up with them, and must be upon their guard as he comes upon them. So that it is no easy matter to find what one thing there is that is practised in war, and is not so in their hunting. They attend this hunting, being provided with a dinner, larger, indeed, as is but fit, than that of the boys, but in all other respects the same; and, during the hunt sometimes, perhaps, they shall not eat it; either waiting for the beast, if it be necessary, or choosing to spend more time at the work: so they make their supper of that dinner; hunt again the next day, until the time of supper; and reckon these two days as but one, because they have ate the food but of one day. This they do to accustom themselves, that, in case it may be necessary for them in war, they may be able to do it. They of this degree have what they catch for meat with their bread. If they catch nothing, then they have their usual herb. And, if any one think that they eat without pleasure, when they have this herb only for food with their bread, and that they drink without pleasure when they drink water, let him recollect how pleasant it is to one who is hungry to eat plain cake or bread; and how pleasant to one who is thirsty to drink water. The tribes that remain at home pass their time in practising the things they learned while they were boys, in shooting with the bow, and throwing the javelin. These they continue exercising, in emulation one against another: and there are pub-

Digitized by Google

lic games, in these kinds, and prizes set; and in whichsoever of the tribes there are the most found who exceed in skill, in courage, and in obedience, the citizens applaud and honour, not only the present ruler of them, but also the person who had the instruction of them while boys. The magistrates likewise make use of the remaining youth, if they want them, to keep guard upon any occasion, or to search for criminal persons, to pursue robbers, or for any other business that requires strength and agility. These things the youth practise, and, when they have completed ten years, they enter into the order of full-grown men. These, from the time they leave the order of youth, pass five and twenty years in this manner. First, as the youth, they give themselves up, to be made use of by the magistrates, upon any occasion that may occur for the service of the public, and that requires the service of such as have discretion, and are yet in vigour. If some military expedition be necessary to be undertaken, they who are under this degree of discipline do not engage in it with bows and javelins, but with what they call arms for close fight, a corselet about the breast, a shield in the left hand, such as the Persians are painted with, and, in the right, a larger sort of sword. All the magistrates are chosen from amongst these, except the teachers of the boys; and, when they have completed five and twenty years in this order, they are then something upwards of fifty years of age, and pass into the order of such as are elders, and are so called. These elders are not obliged to attend any military service abroad, but, remaining at home, have the distribution of public and private justice; have judgment of life and death, and the choice of all magistrates; and, if any of the youth or full-grown men fail in any thing enjoined by the laws, the philarchs, or magistrates, of the tribes, or any one that will make discovery of it, the elders hear the cause, and give judgment upon it;

Digitized by Google

and the person, so judged and condemned, remains infamous for the rest of his life.

That the whole Persian form of government may the more plainly appear, I return a little back; for, by means of what has been already said, it may now be laid open in a very few words. The Persians are said to be in number about twelve myriads, or a hundred and twenty thousand; of these none are by law excluded from honours and magistracies, but all are at liberty to send their boys to the public schools of justice. They who are able to maintain their children idle, and without labour, send them to these schools; they who are not able do not send them. They who are thus educated under the public teachers, are at liberty to pass through the order of youth; they who are not so educated, have not that liberty. They who pass through the youth, fully discharging all things enjoined by the law, are allowed to be incorporated amongst the full-grown men, and to partake of all honours and magistracies; but they who do not complete their course through the order of boys, and through that of the youth, do not pass into the order of the full-grown men. They who make their progress through the order of the full-grown men unexceptionably, become then of the elders: so the order of elders stands composed of men who have made their way through all things good and excellent. And this is the form of government, by the use of which, they think, they become the best men. There yet remain things that bear testimony to the spare diet used among the Persians, and to their carrying it off by exercise; for it is even yet shameful among them to be seen either to spit or to blow the nose, or to appear full of wind; it is shameful for any one to be seen going aside either to make water, or any such matter; and these things could not possibly be, unless they used a very temperate diet, and spent the moisture by exercise, making it pass some other way.

Digitized by Google

These things I had to say concerning the Persians in general. I will now relate the actions of Cyrus, upon whose account this discourse was undertaken, beginning from his being a boy. Cyrus, till twelve years of age, or little more, was educated under this discipline, and appeared to excel all his equals, both in his quick learning of what was fit, and in his performing every thing in a handsome and in a manly way. At that time Astyages sent for his daughter and her son; for he was desirous to see him, having heard that he was an excellent and lovely child. Mandane therefore came to her father, and brought her son with her. As soon as they arrived, and Cyrus knew Astyages to be his mother's father, he instantly, as being a boy of a great good nature, embraced him, just as if he had been bred under him, and had long had an affection for him: and observing him set out and adorned, with his eyes and complexion painted, and with false hair, things that are allowed amongst the Medes, (for the purple coat, the rich habit called candys, collars about the neck, and bracelets about the hands, all belonging to the Medes; but amongst the inhabitants of Persia, even at this day, their habits are much coarser, and their diet much plainer), observing this dress of his grandfather, and looking at him, he said, "O mother, how handsome is my grandfather!" And his mother then asking him which he thought the handsomer, either his father or his grandfather, Cyrus answered, "Of the Persians, mother, my father is much the handsomest; and of all the Medes that I have seen, either upon the road or within the city, this grandfather of mine is much the handsomest." Astyages, then embracing Cyrus, in return, put him on a fine robe, honoured him, and set him out with collars and bracelets; and, whenever he went abroad, carried him with him, mounted upon a horse with a bridle of gold, and such as he used himself to appear abroad upon. Cyrus, being a boy much

Digitized by Google

in love with what was fine and honourable, was pleased with the robe, and extremely delighted with learning to ride; for, amongst the Persians, it being difficult to breed horses, and even difficult to ride, the country being mountainous, it is a rare thing to see a horse. But Astyages being at table with his daughter, and with Cyrus, and being desirous to treat the boy with all possible delight and pleasure, that he might the less miss what he enjoyed at home, set before him several dishes, with sauces and meats of all kinds; upon which Cyrus is reported to have said, "What a deal of business and trouble, grandfather, have you at your meals, if you must reach out your hands to all these several dishes, and taste of all these kinds of meats!" "What, then," said Astyages, "don't you think this entertainment much finer than what you have in Persia?" Cyrus to this is said to reply, "No, grandfather; with us we have a much plainer and readier way to get satisfied than you have; for plain bread and meat bring us to our end; but you, in order to the same end, have a deal of business upon your hands; and, wandering up and down through many mazes, you at last scarce arrive where we have got long before you." "But, child," said Astyages, "it is not with pain that we wander through these mazes; taste," said he, "and you will find that these things are pleasant." "Well, but grandfather," said Cyrus, "I see that you yourself have an aversion to these sauces and things." "What ground," replied Astyages, "have you to say so?" "Because," said he, "when you touch your bread, I see you don't wipe your hands upon any thing; but, when you meddle with any of these, you presently clean your hands upon your napkin, as if you were very uneasy to have them daubed with them." To this Astyages is said to have answered, "Well, child, if this be your opinion, eat heartily of plain meats, that you may return young and healthy home;" and, at the same time, he is said to have

Digitized by Google

presented to him various meats, both of the tame and wild kinds. Cyrus, when he saw this variety of meats, is reported to have said, "And do you give me all these meats, grandfather, to do with them as I think fit?" "Yes, truly, I do," said Astyages; then Cyrus, taking of the several meats, is said to have distributed around to the servants about his grandfather, saying to one, "this for you, because you take pains to teach me to ride: this for you, because you gave me a javelin; for I have it at this time: this for you, because you serve my grandfather well: this for you, because you honour my mother:" and that thus he did, till he distributed away all he had received. Astyages is then reported to have said, "And do you give nothing to this Sacian, my cup-bearer, that I favour above all?" This Sacian was a very beautiful person, and had the honour to introduce to Astyages any that had business with him, and was to hinder those that he did not think it seasonable to introduce. Cyrus to this is said to have answered, in a pert manner, as a boy not yet struck with the sense of shame, "For what reason is it, grandfather, that you favour this Sacian so much?" Astyages replied, in a jesting way, "Don't you see," said he, "how handsomely and neatly he pours me my wine?" For these cup-bearers to kings perform their business very cleverly, they pour out their wine very neatly, and give the cup, bearing it along with three fingers, and present it in such a manner, as it may best be received by the person who is to drink. "Grandfather," said Cyrus, "bid the Sacian give me the cup, that, pouring you your wine to drink, I may gain your favour, if I can." Astyages bids the Sacian give him the cup; and Cyrus, taking it, is said to have washed the cup as he had observed the Sacian to do; and, settling his countenance in a serious and decent manner, brought and presented the cup to his grandfather in such a manner as afforded much

Digitized by Google

laughter to his mother and to Astyages. Then Cyrus, laughing out, leaped up to his grandfather, and, kissing him, cried out, "O Sacian, you are undone; I will turn you out of your office: I will do the business better than you, and not drink the wine myself." For these cup-bearers, when they have given the cup, dip with a dish and take a little out, which, pouring into their left hand, they swallow; and this they do, that, in case they mix poison in the cup, it may be of no advantage to themselves. Upon this, Astyages, in a jesting way, said, "And why, Cyrus, since you have imitated the Sacian in every thing else, did not you swallow some of the wine?" "Because, truly," said he, "I was afraid there had been poison mixed in the cup; for, when you feasted your friends upon your birth-day, I plainly found that he had poured you all poison." "And how, child," said he, "did you know this?" "Truly," said he, "because I saw you all disordered in body and mind: for, first, what you do not allow us boys to do, that you did yourselves; for you all bawled together, and could learn nothing of each other: then you fell to singing very ridiculously; and, without attending to the singer, you swore he sung admirably: then, every one telling stories of his own strength, you rose up and fell to dancing; but without all rule or measure, for you could not so much as keep yourself upright: then you all entirely forgot yourselves; you, that you were king, and they, that you were their governor; and then, for the first time, I discovered that you were celebrating a festival, where all were allowed to talk with equal liberty; for you never ceased talking." Astyages then said, "Does your father, child, never drink till he gets drunk?" "No, truly," said he: "What does he, then?" "Why, he quenches his thirst, and gets no farther harm; for, as I take it, grandfather," says he, "it is no Sacian that officiates as cup-bearer about him." His mother then said, "but why,

Digitized by Google

child, do you make war thus upon the Sacian?" Cyrus to this is said to reply, "Why, truly, because I hate him; for, very often, when I am desirous to run to my grandfather, this nasty fellow hinders me. Pray, grandfather," said he, "let me but have the government of him but for three days." "How would you govern him?" said Astyages: Cyrus replied, "Why, standing as he does, just at the entrance, when he had a mind to go into dinner, then would I tell him that he could not possibly have his dinner yet, because 'he was busy with certain people:' then, when he came to supper, I would tell him that 'he was bathing:' and, if he was very pressing for his victuals, I would tell him that 'he was with the women:' and so on, till I had tormented him as he torments me when he keeps me from you." Such like subjects of mirth did he afford them at meals: at other times of the day, if he perceived his grandfather or his mother's brother in want of any thing, it was a difficult matter for any one to be beforehand with him in doing it. For Cyrus was extremely delighted to gratify them in any thing that lay in his power. But when Mandane was preparing to return home to her husband, Astyages desired her to leave Cyrus with him. She made answer, that she was willing to gratify her father in every thing; but, to leave the child against his will, she thought hard. Upon this occasion Astyages says to Cyrus, "Child, if you will stay with me, in the first place, the Sacian shall not have the command of your access to me; but, whenever you would come, it shall be in your own power; and, the oftener you will come," said he, "the more I shall think myself obliged to you. Then you shall have the use of all my horses, and of as many more as you please; and, when you go away, you shall take as many of them as you please with you: then, at meals, you shall take what way you please to get satisfied in what you think a temperate way: then

Digitized by Google

all the several creatures that are now in the park I give you; and will besides collect more of all kinds, that you may pursue them when you have learnt to ride, and with your bow and javelin lay them prostrate on the ground, as grown men do. Boys I will furnish you with, for playfellows; and, whatever else you would have, do but tell me, and you sha'n't go without." When Astyages had said this, Cyrus's mother asked him whether he would go or stay. He did not at all hesitate, but presently said that he would stay. And being asked by his mother the reason why, it is said that he made answer, "Because, mother, that, at home, both at the bow and javelin, I am superior to all of equal age with me, and am so reckoned; but here, I well know that, in horsemanship, I am their inferior; and be it known to you, mother, this grieves me very much. But, if you leave me here, and I learn to be a horseman, then I reckon that, when I am in Persia, I shall easily master them there, who are so good at all exercises on foot; and, when I come amongst the Medes, I shall endeavour to be an assistant and a support to my grandfather, making myself the most skilful amongst those who excel in horsemanship." His mother is then reported to have said, "But how, child, will you be instructed here in the knowledge of justice, when your teachers are there?" "Oh, mother," said Cyrus, "that I understand exactly already." "How so?" said Mandane; "Because my teacher," said he, "appointed me judge over others, as being very exact in the knowledge of justice myself. But yet," said he, "I had some stripes given me, as not determining right in one judgment that I gave. The case was this: a bigger boy, who had a little coat, stripping a less boy, who had a larger, puts on upon the little boy the coat that was his own, and puts on himself the coat that was the little boy's. I, therefore, passing judgment upon them, decreed, that it was best that each should keep the

Digitized by Google

coat that best fitted him. Upon this, my teacher thrashed me, and told me that, when I should be constituted judge of what fitted best, I should determine in this manner: but, when I was to judge whose the coat was, then, said he, it must be enquired what right possession is; whether he that took a thing by force should have it, or whether he who made it or purchased it should possess it: and then he told me what was according to law was just, and that what was contrary to law was violent. He bid me take notice, therefore, that a judge ought to give his opinion with the law. So, mother," said he, "I understand what is just in all cases very exactly: or, if any thing be wanting to me, my grandfather here will teach it me." "But, child," says she, "the same things are not accounted just with your grandfather here, and yonder in Persia: for, among the Medes, your grandfather has made himself lord and master of all; but, amongst the Persians, it is accounted just that all should be equally dealt by; and your father is the first to execute the orders imposed upon the whole state, and receives those orders himself; his own humour is not his rule and measure, but it is the law that is so. How, then, can you avoid being beat to death at home, when you come from your grandfather instructed not in kingly arts, but in the arts and manner of tyranny; one of which is, to think that power and ascendant over all is your due?" "Oh, mother," said Cyrus, your father is much better able to teach one to submit than to take the ascendant. Don't you see," said he, "that he has taught all the Medes to submit to him? So be well assured that your father will not dismiss me, nor any one, from about him, instructed how to gain power and ascendant over others."

Many such kind of discourses did Cyrus hold. At last, his mother went away; he stayed, and was there brought up. He immediately joined himself

Digitized by Google

to those that were his equals in age, so as to be upon a very familiar and friendly foot with them: and he presently gained their fathers, both by visiting them, and by giving evidence of his affection to their sons. So that, if they had any business with the king, they bid their boys ask Cyrus to do it; and Cyrus, such was his benignity and love of esteem and praise, did his utmost to accomplish it for them: and Astyages had it not in his power to refuse gratifying Cyrus in whatever he asked of him: for Cyrus, when his grandfather fell ill, never quitted him; never ceased from tears; and made it evident to all, that he was in the utmost fear of his dying. And, in the night, if Astyages wanted any thing, Cyrus was the first to perceive it, and started up the nimblest of any, to serve him in any thing that he thought pleasing to him; so that he entirely gained Astyages. Cyrus was, perhaps, a little over-talkative; but this he had partly from his education; his teacher obliging him to give a reason for every thing that he did, and to hearken to it from others, when he was to give his opinion in judgment: and, besides, being very eager after knowledge, he was always asking those about him abundance of questions, how such and such things were; and, upon whatever subject he was questioned by others, being of a very quick and ready apprehension, he instantly made his answers: so that, from all these things, he contracted an over-talkativeness. But, as in the persons of very young people, who have shot up suddenly, so as to be very tall, there yet appears something childish, that betrays their youth; so, in in Cyrus, it was not an impudence and boldness that appeared through that talkativeness, but a simplicity and good nature: so that one was desirous rather to hear yet more from him, than to be with him while he held his tongue.

But, as years added to his growth, and brought him on towards the time of his becoming a youth,

Digitized by Google

he then used fewer words and a softer voice; he became full of shame, so as to blush when he came into the company of men of years: and that playful pertness, in bluntly accosting every one, did not continue with him as before. So he became more soft and gentle, but, in his conversation, extremely agreeable: for, in all the exercises that he and his equals used in emulation to each other, he did not challenge his companions to those in which he knew himself superior, but such as he well knew himself to be inferior in, those he set on foot; declaring that he would do them better than they. Accordingly, he would begin vaulting the horse, throwing the javelin, or shooting with the bow, on horseback, while he was yet scarce well able to sit on a horse; and, when he was outdone, he was the first to laugh at himself: and as, upon the account of being baffled, he did not fly off and meddle no more with the things he was so baffled in, but continued repeating his endeavours to do better, he presently became equal to his companions in horsemanship, and, by his love of the work, quickly left them behind. He then presently applied himself to the taking of the beasts in the park, pursuing, throwing at them, and killing them; so that Astyages could no longer supply him with them. And Cyrus, perceiving that he could not furnish him with these creatures, though very desirous to do it, often said to him, "What need you take so much pains, grandfather, to find me out these creatures? If you will but send me out a hunting with my uncle, I shall reckon that all the beasts I see are creatures that you maintain for me." But though he was very desirous to go out a hunting, yet he could not now be pressing and importunate, as when he was a boy: he became very backward in going to his grandfather; and what he blamed in the Sacian for not admitting him to his grandfather, he became in this a Sacian to himself; for he never went in, unless he knew before-hand

Digitized by Google

that it was seasonable; and begged the Sacian, by all means, to signify to him when it was seasonable, and when not: so that the Sacian now loved him extremely, as all the rest did.

When Astyages, therefore, knew that he was extremely desirous to hunt abroad and at large, he sent him out with his uncle, and sent some elderly men on horseback with him, as guards upon him, to take care of him in rough and rocky parts of the country, and in case any beasts of the savage kind appeared. Cyrus, therefore, was very earnest in enquiring of those that attended him, what beasts he was not to approach, and which those were that he might confidently pursue. They told him, that bears had destroyed many that had ventured to approach them; and that lions, wild boars, and leopards, had done the same; but that stags, wild goats, wild sheep, and wild asses, were harmless things. They told him, likewise, that rough and rocky places were not less to be taken care of than the beasts; for that many, both men and horses, had fallen headlong down precipices. Cyrus took all these instructions very eagerly; but, as soon as he saw a stag roused, forgetting all that he had heard, he pursued, and looked at nothing but at that which he run; and his horse, taking a leap with him, fell upon his knees, and wanted but little of throwing him quite over his neck. However, Cyrus, though with difficulty, kept upon his back, and the horse recovered. When they got into the plain, he struck the stag with his javelin, brought him to the ground: a large, noble creature it was, and he was most highly delighted. But his guardians, coming up with him, chid and reproved him; told him what danger he had run into; and said, that they would tell it to his grandfather. Cyrus, being alighted from his horse, stood and heard this with much uneasiness; but, hearing a hollow, he mounted his horse at a leap, as in a sort of enthusiasm,

Digitized by Google

and, as soon as he saw a boar rushing forward over against him, he pushed on upon him, and, aiming right with his javelin, struck the boar in the forehead; and here his uncle, seeing his boldness, reproved him: he, while his uncle was reproving him, begged that he would allow him to carry off the beasts that he had taken, and to give them to his grandfather. To this, they say, his uncle replied, "But, if he discover that it is you that have pursued and taken them, he will not only reprove you, but me, for allowing you to do it." "Let him beat me," says he, "if he will, when I have given them to him: and do you, if you will, uncle," says he, "correct me as you please; do but gratify me in this." Cyaxares at last said, "Well, do as you please; for it is you that seem now to be our king."

So Cyrus, carrying off the beasts, presented them to his grandfather, and told him that he himself had taken them for him. The javelins he did not show him, but laid them down, all bloody, where he thought that he certainly would see them. Astyages said, "Child, I receive with pleasure whatever you give me; but I am not in such want of any of these things as to run you into danger for them." "If you do not want them, grandfather," said Cyrus, "pray give them me, that I may distribute them to my companions." "Child," said Astyages, "take them, and distribute them to whom you please, and of every thing else whatever you will." Cyrus, taking the beasts, gave them to the boys; and withal told them, "Boys," said he, "what very triflers were we when we hunted in the park? In my opinion, it was as if one had tied the creatures by the leg and hunted them; for, first, we were within a narrow compass of ground; then the creatures were poor, slender, scabby things; one was lame, another maimed: but the beasts in the mountains and marshes, how fine, how large, and how sleek they appear! The stags, as if they had

Digitized by Google

wings, leap to the very heavens; the boars, as they say brave men do, attack one hand to hand; and their bulk is such, that it is impossible to miss them. These, even when they are dead," says he, "are, in my opinion, finer than those other walled-up things when alive. But," says he, "would your father, think you, send you out a hunting?" "Yes, very readily," said they, "if Astyages ordered it." Cyrus then said, "Who is there amongst you, therefore, that would mention it to Astyages?" "Who more able," said they, "to persuade him than yourself?" "But, truly," said he, "for my part, I know not what kind of creature I am become; for I am neither able to speak, nor can I any longer so much as meet my grandfather's eyes; and, if I go on in this way so fast, I fear," says he, "I shall become a mere blockhead and fool: yet, when I was a little boy, I was thought a notable talker." The boys then said, "You tell us a sad piece of news, if you can do nothing for us in case of need, but that we must beg that of another that is in your power to effect."

Cyrus, hearing this, was nettled; and retiring, without saying a word, he stirred himself up to boldness: and having contrived how to speak to his grandfather in the least offensive manner, and to obtain for himself and the boys what they desired, he went in. Thus, then, he began; "Tell me," said he, "grandfather, if one of your domestic servants should run away, and you should take him again, what would you do with him?" "Why," said he, "what should I do but put him in chains, and force him to work?" "But if a runaway should of himself return to you, what would you do?" "What else," said he, "but have him whipped, that he may do so no more, then make use of him as before?" "It is time, therefore," said Cyrus, "to prepare yourself to bestow a whipping upon me, as having contrived to run away, and take

Digitized by Google

my companions with me a hunting." "Then," said Astyages, "you have done very well to tell it me before-hand; for, henceforward, I order you not to stir. It is a fine thing, indeed," said he, "if, for the sake of a little venison, I shall send out my daughter's son to ramble at his pleasure."

Cyrus, hearing this, obeyed, and stayed at home much afflicted; carrying a melancholy countenance, and remained silent. Astyages, when he found that he was so extremely afflicted, being willing to please him, carries him out a hunting; and, assembling abundance of people, both foot and horse, and likewise the boys, and driving the beasts out into the champaign country, he made a great hunt; and being himself present, royally attended, he gave order that none should throw, till Cyrus was satisfied and had enough of the exercise. But Cyrus would not let him hinder them. "If you have a mind, grandfather," said he, "that I should hunt with pleasure, let all those about me pursue and engage in the fray, and do the best." Astyages then gave them his leave, and, taking a station, saw them engaged amongst the beasts, striving to outdo each other, pursuing and throwing their javelins. He was delighted with Cyrus, who, in transports of joy, could not hold his tongue, but, like a young generous dog, that opens when he approaches the beast he pursues, encouraged every one, calling upon them by name. He was pleased to see him laughing at one; and another he observed him to praise cordially, and without the least motion of envy. At last, Astyages, having taken abundance of game, retired; but was so pleased with that hunt, that he always went out with Cyrus, whenever he was able, taking abundance of people with him, and the boys, for the sake of Cyrus. Thus, for the most part, did Cyrus pass his time, doing service and pleasure to all, and hurt to none.

But, when he was about fifteen or sixteen years

Digitized by Google

of age, the king of Assyria's son, being to celebrate his nuptials, had a mind at that time to hunt; and, hearing that there was plenty of game upon the borders of the Assyrians and Medes, they having not been hunted, because of the war between the nations, hither he desired to go. That he might hunt, therefore, securely, he took with him a body of horse and another of light-armed foot, who were to drive the beasts out of their fastnesses, into the open, cultivated country. Being come, therefore, to the place where their garrisons were, and a guard always attending, here he supped, as intending to hunt the next day, early in the morning: but, that evening, a guard of horse and foot arrived from the city, to relieve those who were there before. He, therefore, thought that he had now a handsome army with him, consisting of a double guard, besides a considerable number, both of horse and foot, that had attended upon himself. He judged it best, therefore, to undertake a plunder upon the Median territory; that this would be a nobler exploit than a hunt; and he thought he should procure great store of beasts for sacrifice. So, rising early in the morning, he led his army forwards. The foot he left in close order upon the borders; he himself advanced, with the horse, up to the Median garrisons; and, keeping the best of them and the greatest number with himself, he halted there, that the Medes in garrison might not march and charge those who were to scour the country: and, such as were proper, he sent out in parties, some to run one way and some another; and ordered them to surround and seize all that they met with, and bring all off to him. These did as they were ordered. But, notice being given to Astyages, that the enemy was got into the country, he marched, with what forces he had at hand, to the borders. His son did so, in like manner, with some horse that were at hand; and he signified to all his other forces to march af-

Digitized by Google

ter, to support him. When they came up, and saw a great number of Assyrians, in close order, and their horses standing quietly and still, the Medes likewise halted and stood.

Cyrus, seeing other people marching on all sides to support their friends, set forward himself, putting on his arms for the first time; never imagining that he should be so soon armed with them in the manner he desired: for they were very fine, and fitted him very well; being such as his grandfather had ordered to be made fit to his body. So, being thus completely armed, he set out on horseback. Astyages, getting sight of him, wondered by whose order and encouragement he came: however, he bid him keep by him. Cyrus, when he saw a great number of horsemen fronting him, asked, "Grandfather," said he, "are these men enemies, that sit quietly there on horseback?" "They are enemies," said he. "And are those so too, that are scouring the country?" "Yes, and those too." "By Jove, then, grandfather!" said he, "methinks these that are thus plundering us are wretched fellows, and mounted upon wretched horses: and must not some of us march against them?" "Do not you see, child," said he, "what a body of horse stands there in close order, and who, if we advance against the others, will intercept us? And we have not yet our full strength with us." "But," said Cyrus, "if you wait here, and collect those that are marching to join us, these of our enemies that are here will be under apprehension, and will not stir; and the plunderers, when they see any men marching against them, will presently drop their booty." Upon his saying this, Astyages thought there was something in what he said, and wondering at his sagacity and vigilance, ordered his son to take a squadron of horse and march against the plunderers: "I," said he, "will bear down upon these men that are here, if they offer to move towards

Digitized by Google

you; so that they shall be obliged to be intent upon us."

Cyaxares, taking of the strongest and best, both of men and horses, marched: and Cyrus seeing these put forward, joined and pushed on with them, and presently got at the head of them. Cyaxares followed, and the rest were not left behind. As soon as the plunderers saw them approaching, then, quitting their booty, they fled. They that were with Cyrus intercepted them, and fell to blows with such as they could come up with, and Cyrus was the first at the work. Those who, by turning aside, escaped them, they pursued in the rear, and did not give over, but met with several of them. Like a generous dog that has no experience, and that runs headlong without caution, upon a boar, so ran Cyrus, minding only to deal his blows where any came within his reach, without further foresight or consideration. The enemy, when they saw their people in distress, moved their main body, judging that the pursuit would cease as soon as they should be seen to advance: Cyrus, notwithstanding, did not give over, but, calling out to his uncle for joy, pursued, and, pressing continually on, put the enemy to an entire rout. Cyaxares followed, (perhaps being in awe of his father) and the rest followed after, who thought, perhaps, they would not have shown themselves very brave against men that had opposed them, yet were, upon this occasion, more than ordinarily eager in pursuing. Astyages, when he saw these men so incautiously pursuing, and the enemy, in a close body, marching towards them, fearing for his son and for Cyrus, lest they, in disorder and confusion, should fall in with the enemy, prepared to receive them, and suffer damage, he presently led on towards the enemy. The enemy, as soon as they saw the Medes move forward, halted; presenting some their javelins, and some their bows, in order to stop them, when they came within bow-shot,

Digitized by Google

as their general practice is. For, when they are near, they push each other at a certain distance, and so frequently skirmish on till evening. But when they saw their own men in full rout flying towards them, and those with Cyrus following close behind them, and Astyages, with his horse, already within bow-shot, they gave way and fled. The Medes, in a body, pursuing, killed several in the first charge, and, whoever they came up with, they fell upon, whether man or horse, and whoever fell they killed. Nor did they stop till they came up with the Assyrian foot, and there they gave over, fearing lest some greater force than appeared might lie in ambuscade to receive them. Astyages, upon this, retreated, in much joy at this victory obtained by his cavalry, but knew not what to say to Cyrus, for he knew him to be the author of the action, and saw him wrought up to such a degree of boldness, as mounted almost to madness; for, while the rest were retiring home, he alone, by himself, did nothing but ride round and view those that had fallen in the action. And they who had it in charge, dragging him with difficulty away, brought him to Astyages, while he put his conductors forward before him, because he saw the countenance of his grandfather turn sour upon seeing him.

These things passed among the Medes, and all people had Cyrus in their mouths, both in their discourses and songs. But Astyages, who before had a great esteem for him, was now quite astonished and struck with him. Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, was pleased to hear these things of him; but when he heard that Cyrus began to peform acts of manhood, he called him home, that he might complete his institution among the Persians, according to the rules of his country. And, upon this occasion, Cyrus is reported to have said, "That he would return, lest his father should be uneasy and his country blame him." Astyages, therefore, seem-

Digitized by Google

ed to be under a necessity of parting with him: so he sent him away, but first presented him with such horses as he desired to have, and furnishing him with other things of all kinds, both because of the affection he had for him, and because he had great assurance and hopes that he would prove a man thoroughly able to do service to his friends, and mischief to his enemies.

All people waited upon Cyrus at his departure, attending him part of his way on horseback, both boys, youth, men, and those in years; so, likewise, did Astyages himself. And, they say, that not one turned back, at parting with him, without tears; and it is said, that Cyrus himself shed many tears at parting; that he gave many presents to his companions and equals in age, out of what Astyages had given him; and that, at last, taking off the Median robe he had on, he gave it to a certain youth, declaring, by this, that he loved that youth the most of any. It is said, that they who had taken and accepted of these presents, returned them to Astyages, and that Astyages sent them to Cyrus, but that he sent them back again to the Medes, and sent word thus: "O, grandfather! if you would have me return hither again with pleasure, and not with shame, let every one keep what I have given him:" and that Astyages, hearing this, did as Cyrus had begged him by his message to do.

But, if I may be allowed to relate a sportive affair, it is said, that when Cyrus went away, and that he and his relations parted, they took their leave, and dismissed him with a kiss, according to the Persian custom; for the Persians practise it to this day: and that a certain Mede, a very excellent person, had been long struck with the beauty of Cyrus, that when he saw Cyrus's relations kiss him, he stayed behind, and, when the rest were gone, accosted Cyrus, and said to him, 'And am I, Cyrus, the only one of all your relations that you do

Digitized by Google

not know?" "What!" said Cyrus, "and are you a relation?" "Yes," said he. "This was the reason, then," said Cyrus, "that you used to gaze at me; for, I think, I recollect that you frequently did so." "I was very desirous," said he, "to salute you, but I was always ashamed to do it." "But," said Cyrus, "you, that are a relation, ought not to have been so." So, coming up to him, he kissed him. The Mede having received the kiss, is said to have asked this question: "And is it a custom among the Persians to kiss relations?" "It is so," said Cyrus, "when they see one another at some distance of time, or when they part." "Then," said the Mede, "it seems now to be time for you to kiss me again; for, as you see, I am just going away." So Cyrus, kissing him again, dismissed him, and went his way. They had not gone very far, before the Mede came up with him again, with his horse all over in a sweat; and Cyrus, getting sight of him, said, "What, have you forgot any thing that you had a mind to say to me?" "No, by Jove!" said he, "but I am come again, at a distance of time." "Dear relation!" said he, "it is a very short one." "How a short one?" said the Mede, "do you not know, Cyrus," said he, "that the very twinkling of my eyes is a long time to be without seeing you; you, who are so lovely?" Here Cyrus, from being in tears, broke out into laughter, bid him "go his way, and take courage; that, in a little time, he would be with them again; and that then he would be at liberty to look at him, if he pleased, with steady eyes, and without twinkling."

Cyrus returning thus into Persia, is said to have continued a year longer amongst the boys. At first they made their jests upon him, as being now come home, instructed amongst the Medes in luxury and pleasure. But when they saw that he clothed himself as they did; that he drank as they did, and with pleasure; and that in festivals, when they had a lit-

Digitized by Google

the more than ordinary plenty, they perceived him more ready to give his share away than desirous to have it himself: and, besides, when they saw him, in all other respects, much superior to themselves, they were then astonished at him. Then, having passed through the discipline of these years, and entering the order of youth, he here again appeared superior to the rest, both in executing what was fit, in undergoing every thing that was his part so to do, in his respects to his elders, and in his obedience to his rulers.

In progress of time, Astyages died, and his son Cyaxares, brother to Cyrus's mother, took upon him the government of the Medes. And the king of Assyria, having overthrown all the Syrians, who were no small nation, and having subjected the king of the Arabs, and holding the Hyrcanians under his dominion, and being at that time attacking the Bactrians, considered that, if he could break the power of the Medes, he should easily obtain the dominion of all around him. For the Medes seemed to be the strongest of all the neighbouring nations. So he sent round to all those that were subject to himself; he sent to Crœsus king of Lydia, to the king of Cappadocia, to both the Phrygias, to the Carians, Paphlagonians, Indians, and Cilicians, loading the Medes and Persians with calumny and reproach; telling them how great, how powerful, and how united in interest these two nations were by means of several intermarriages; that they would unite into one; and, if he did not prevent them, and break their power, they would run a risk, by attacking each nation severally, to overturn all. Some, being persuaded by these arguments, entered into a confederacy with him; others were prevailed with by money and presents, for in these he abounded.

Cyaxares, the son of Astyages, when he perceived this design, and these united preparations against

Digitized by Google

him, did, himself, immediately make the utmost preparations that he was able, to oppose them; and he sent to the Persians, both to the public council and to Cambyses, who was married to his sister, and was king of Persia. He sent likewise to Cyrus, desiring him to endeavour to come commander of the forces, if the public council of the Persians should send any; for Cyrus, by this time, had completed ten years amongst the youth, and was now of the full-grown men.

So Cyrus accepting it, the elders, in council, chose him commander of the expedition into Media. They gave him power to choose two hundred from amongst those who were equally entitled to all honours, and to each of these they gave power to choose four of their own order. These, altogether, made a thousand. Again, to each of these thousand they gave a power to choose, from amongst the common people of Persia, ten shield-men, ten slingers, and ten archers. Thus there were ten thousand archers, ten thousand shield-men, and ten thousand slingers, and the thousand besides. So great was the army that was given to Cyrus: and, as soon as he was chosen, he began by making application to the gods; and, having sacrificed happily and successfully, he then chose the two hundred; and, when these had afterwards chosen each their four, he assembled them together, and made his first discourse to them thus:

"Friends, I have chosen you, not as having now, for the first time, had proof of your worth, but as having seen you, from boys, performing, with ardour, all things that the city judges excellent and noble, and avoiding, entirely, whatever it reckons mean and base. I would now lay before you, upon what account it is that I, not unwillingly, am placed in this station, and that I have called you together. I have thought that our forefathers were noways inferior to ourselves; for they passed their days in

Digitized by Google

the continual exercise and practice of such things as are thought actions of virtue; but what, with this their virtue, they have acquired either for the public of Persia, or for themselves, I cannot yet discover. Yet, in my opinion, men practise no virtue, but that, by it, they may gain the advantage of the vicious. They who abstain from pleasures in present, do not do it that they may never have delight; but they do it that, by means of that temperance in present, they may, in future time, have returns of delight manifold. They who are desirous to be powerful in speaking, do not exercise themselves in it, that they may never give over discoursing; but they do it in hopes that, prevailing upon numbers of men by the power of their eloquence, they may effect many things, and those of great consequence.

"They who exercise themselves in martial affairs, do not take pains in it that they may never cease fighting; but they judge that, by making themselves able in military affairs, they shall acquire great riches, great happiness, and great honours, to themselves and to their country. And, if any have taken pains to acquire ability and skill in these affairs, and without reaping any fruits from them, have neglected themselves till they have been disabled by old age, in my opinion, they have undergone the same fate as one who were desirous to be a good husbandman would do, who, sowing and planting with skill, when the time came for gathering the fruits, should let them all fall, ungathered, to the ground again: and, as a wrestler, who, after much pains bestowed, and becoming qualified for victory, should pass his days, without entering the lists: and, in my opinion, such a one could not justly be freed from the imputation of folly. Let not us, friends, submit to such a fate; but, since we are conscious to ourselves that, from boys, we are exercised in all great and noble things, let us march

Digitized by Google

against these enemies of ours, that I, an eye-witness, well know to be poor, insignificant men, as antagonists to you! For such men are not very dangerous antagonists, who, though they may be skilful at their bow, and at their javelin, and in horsemanship, yet, when they are to undergo toil and labour, sink under it: and these men, with respect to pains and labour, are mean and poor. Nor are such men dangerous antagonists, who, when they are to watch and deny themselves their usual rest, are quite broken by it: and, in this respect, likewise, these men are mean and poor. Nor are such dangerous antagonists, who, though able in all these respects, yet are ignorant how to deal either with allies or with enemies: and these men are evidently ignorant and unpractised in the noblest arts. But you can make use of the night, as others of the day; you reckon that toil and pains must conduct you to a life of pleasure; you can use hunger to relish your food, as others do the daintiest meats; you, even with more ease than lions, can bear the drinking of plain water; and you carry within your minds the noblest and most warlike quality in the world; for praise is what you are pleased with above all things, and they that are lovers of praise do, of course, undergo all toil, and all danger, with pleasure. If I say these things of you, and know otherwise, I abuse myself; for, whatever falls short of this in your conduct, the deficiency will fall upon me. But I trust, to my own experience, to your good will towards me, and to the folly of our enemies, that these good hopes will not fail me. Let us set forward with confidence, since we are far from appearing to be taken with an unjust desire of what belongs to others: for our enemies are coming upon us, being themselves the aggressors in wrong. Our friends call us to their assistance; what, therefore, is more just, than to repel injuries? what more noble, than to help our friends? Besides, methinks

Digitized by Google

it ought not to be one of the least grounds of your confidence in this case, that I do not set out upon this expedition with the neglect of the gods; for you, who have conversed much with me, know that I have endeavoured to begin not great affairs only, but even little ones, with application to the gods. To conclude," said he, "what further shall I say? Do you make choice of your men, and take them under your care; and, making all things else ready, march to the Medes; I, first returning back to my father, will go before you, that I may learn, as soon as possible, the condition of the enemy, and prepare things for you as well as I can, that, with God's assistance, we may carry on this war in the noblest manner." These men did as Cyrus required.

Cyrus, returning home, and having made his supplications to Vesta, and to Jove Paternal, and to the other deities, set out upon this expedition, and his father attended him on his way. As soon as they were out of the house, it is said, that it thundered and lightned in a happy manner. Upon which they went on without further augury, as if no one could be ignorant what these signals of the most powerful God imported. As Cyrus proceeded upon his journey, his father began a discourse with him in this manner:

"That the gods send you out upon this expedition propitiously and favourably, is evident, child, both from the sacrifices and from the signals from heaven: and you yourself know it to be so; for I have purposely taught you these things, that you might not come to the knowledge of what the gods advise and direct you to, by means of other interpreters; but that you yourself, seeing what is to be seen, and hearing what is to be heard, may understand, and not be at the mercy of diviners, who, if they please, may deceive you, and tell you different things from what the gods really signify to you: and that, in case you are without a diviner, you

Digitized by Google

may not be at a loss what use to make of the divine signals, but, by your knowledge in divination, understanding the advices given you by the gods, you may comply with them." "Father," said Cyrus, "I will always continue using my utmost care, according to your instruction, to render the gods propitious to us, and willing to give us their advice and direction; for, I remember to have heard it from you, that, as from men, so likewise from the gods, the most likely person to obtain his suit is not he who, when he is in distress, flatters servilely, but he who, in his most happy circumstances, is most mindful of the gods. And you used to say, that it was in the same manner that one ought to cultivate friends." "Therefore, child," said he, "upon the account of this your care, you now apply to the gods and make your requests to them with the more pleasure, and you have the better hopes to obtain what you ask, appearing to yourself conscious that you have never neglected them." "Truly, father," said he, "I am for that reason in such a temper of mind, with respect to the gods, as to reckon them my friends." "Well, child," said he, "do you remember these other opinions that we heretofore agreed in? as that, in all things that the gods bestow, such men as have acquired skill and knowledge in them, act and succeed better than they who are ignorant in them; that the laborious succeed better than the idle; that the diligent and the careful live with more security than the negligent and careless; and that, therefore, first rendering ourselves such as we ought to be, we then should make our prayers to the gods for their blessings." "Yes, indeed," said Cyrus, "I do remember to have heard these things from you; and I was forced to submit to your reasoning; for I know you used to say, that it was downright impiety, for such as had never learned to ride, to supplicate the gods for victory in engagements of horse; or for such as had never

Digitized by Google

learned the use of the bow, to ask the superiority, at this very weapon, over those who understood it; or for such as knew not how to steer, to pray that they might preserve ships in quality of pilots; or for such as have not sown wheat, to pray that they might have a good crop of it; or for such as are not watchful in war, to pray that they may be preserved in safety; for that all such things were contrary to the settled laws of the gods: and you said, that such as made impious prayers, would probably meet with disappointments from the gods; as such would fail of success with men, who should desire things contrary to all human laws."

"And have you forgot, child," said he, "these other matters that you and I have heretofore discoursed upon? As, that it was a great and noble work for a man to be able to approve himself a good and excellent man, and to find means to supply himself and his family with plenty of all things necessary. And this being thus allowed to be a great work, that to understand how to govern other men, so as to supply them with all things necessary, and in abundance, and so as to render them such as they ought to be; this we thought was an astonishing work!" "Yes, truly, father," said he, "I remember to have heard you say this, and I was of opinion with you, that to govern well was a work of the highest nature. And it now appears to me to be so," said he, "when I consider it with respect to government itself; but when I consider it with respect to other men, what kind of men these governors are, and what kind of men they are, who are to be our antagonists; I think it very mean to be terrified with such people, and to be unwilling to march and engage them. Men," said he, "who, to begin with these friends of ours, I find, are of opinion, that a governor ought to distinguish himself from those that he governs, by his eating more sumptuously, by having more gold in his house, by sleep-

Digitized by Google

ing longer, and by living, in all respects, more at ease than those that he governs. But my opinion is," said he, "that a governor ought to differ from the governed, not by a life of ease and luxury, but by care and circumspection, and by his readiness to undergo toil and labour."——"But, child," said he, "there are some matters wherein you are not to contend with men, but with things; and to have these plentifully at command is no easy matter. You readily know, that if the army have not necessaries, your command is immediately dissolved and falls to pieces." "Father," said he, "therefore Cyaxares says, that he will afford them to all that go from hence, however great the number be." "You go then, child," said he, "trusting in these matters entirely to Cyaxares's riches." "I do," said Cyrus. "Well," said he, "but do you know what these riches are?" "No, truly," said Cyrus, "I do not. "Yet," said he, "to these things, that you are thus in the dark about, do you trust. Do not you know that you will be in want of abundance of things, and that now you must, of necessity, spend abundance?" "I do know it," said Cyrus. "If, therefore," said he, "the supply of this expence fail him, or that he purposely deal falsely by you, how will the affairs of the army then stand? It is plain, not very well." "Then, father," said he, "if you know any means of obtaining a supply, and such as may depend upon myself, whilst I am yet upon friendly ground, pray tell it me." "Do you ask, child," said he, "if there be any means of supply depending upon yourself? And upon whom are these things more likely to depend, than upon one who has power in his hands? You go from hence with such a body of foot, as I very well know you would not exchange for any other, though many times their number: and you will have the Median cavalry, who are the best, and who will be with you as your allies and friends. What nation is there then, of all around, that you

Digitized by Google

think will not serve you, both out of a desire to gain your favour, and for fear of receiving harm? These matters you ought to concert with Cyaxares, that nothing of what is necessary for you may be wanting; and, upon account of the continual expence, you ought to secure a revenue and supply, that may be always accruing. But, above all things, remember this, never to delay the procuring your supply till want presses you to it; but while you have the greatest plenty, and before you come to want, then labour the most to make sure of it. For you will succeed the better with those from whom you demand it, when you seem not to be in want; and your men will have nothing to blame you for. By this means, likewise, you will have more respect paid you by others: and if, by means of your forces, you have a mind to do service or prejudice to any, while your men are supplied with all that they want, they will do you better service. And be assured, that your words will carry greater weight with them, when you can show that you have it in your power to do service or to do hurt." "I am satisfied, father," said he, "that you are right in all this, both for other reasons, as well as particularly because there are none of the soldiers that will pay me thanks for what they are now to receive; for they know upon what terms Cyaxares takes them as his allies: but whatever any of them shall receive over and above what is agreed, this they will reckon favour, and will pay the greatest gratitude to the bestower of it. And, indeed, for one who has a force, by whose means he may receive advantages in return of service done to friends, and may endeavour to make conquests upon enemies; for such a one to be careless in securing himself supplies, can one think this," said he, "to be less reproachful, than it would be in a man who had lands, and had servants to cultivate them, and who, after all, should let those lands lie fallow and useless. Depend upon it, therefore," said he, "that,

Digitized by Google

both in the territory of friends and of enemies, I will not be sparing of my care to supply my men with all things fitting."

"Well, child," said he, "and do you remember certain other things, that we heretofore agreed it was necessary not to neglect? "Yes," said he, "for I remember that, when I came to you for money to give a man, who pretended to have taught me the art of commanding an army, as you gave me the money, you asked me,—'Child,' said you, 'did this man, that you carry this reward to, ever, amongst the arts and business of a general, mention any thing of economy to you? for soldiers in an army are not less in want of things necessary than are domestics in a family:' and when, telling you the truth, I said that he had not made the least mention of it, you asked me again,—'Whether he had spoken to me concerning the health and strength of my men? As that a general ought to mind these things, as well as the leading and managing of them in action:' when I told you, No, you again asked me,—'Whether he had taught me how to take care to make my men the most able at all warlike exercises;' and when I denied this too, you enquired again,—'Whether he had given me any instruction how I might raise spirit and courage in an army; for,' you said, 'that, in every action, there were vast odds between an army's being in spirit and out of heart.' When I denied this too, you enquired again,—'Whether he held any discourse to teach me, how one might best bring an army to ready obedience.' When you found that this had not been in the least spoken of, you, at last, enquired,—'What it was he had taught me then, that he could say he had taught me the art of commanding an army.' Here I replied, and told you the tactics, or the art of forming and moving in order. You, laughing at this, ran over each particular; asking me what use there was in generalship of tactics without necessaries; what

Digitized by Google

without health; what without skill in the arts that have been invented for the use of war; what without obedience? So you made it evident to me, that this tactic art was but a small part of generalship. And when I asked you, whether you were able to teach me any of these matters, you bid me go my ways, and discourse with men that were reputed knowing in military affairs, and enquire from them how these matters stood. Upon this, I conversed with such as I had heard were most knowing in these matters. And with respect to health, having heard and observed, that cities that want health get physicians; and that commanders, for the sake of their men, take physicians with them; so when I was placed in this station, I presently took care of this: and, I believe, father," said he, "that I have men with me that are very able in the art of physic." To this the father replied: "But, child," said he, "these men that you speak of are like menders of torn clothes; so when people are sick, physicians cure them: but your care of health is to be of a nobler kind; to prevent the army's becoming sickly is what you ought to take care of."

"And which way, father," said he, "shall I be able to do this?" "Why, if you are to stay sometime in a place, you ought not to be careless in your choice of a healthy camp: and in this you will not be deceived, provided you are but careful; for men are continually talking of healthy and unhealthy places, and upon the places themselves there are sure witnesses to give their testimony either way, both by their persons and complexions. But then it will not suffice you to consider places only, but, pray, recollect what course you have taken yourself, in your endeavours to preserve your health." Cyrus then said, "In the first place, I endeavour not to over fill myself, for it is a very burthensome thing; and then what I take down I work off by exercise. By this means, I think that I preserve health and

Digitized by Google

acquire vigour." "In the same manner, therefore, child," said he, "you must take care of others." "And shall we have leisure," said he, "father, to exercise the soldiers in this manner?" "You will not only have leisure," said the father, "but necessity will oblige you to it; for an army that will do its duty must never be at rest, but employed either in distressing the enemy or making advantage to themselves. It is a difficult matter for a single man to be maintained idle, and yet more difficult for a family; but most difficult of all to maintain an army idle. For in an army, from the lowest to the highest, there are many mouths, and what they get they spend very lavishly; so that it is never fit for an army to be idle." "You seem to me, father," said he, "to say, that as an idle husbandman is good for nothing, so is an idle general good for nothing. But, unless some god blast my endeavours, I take it upon me to show you a diligent and active general, and soldiers well supplied with all things necessary, and to take care that their bodies shall be in the best condition. But, with respect to the several military arts, father," said he, "in my opinion, he that should establish games in the several kinds, and propose certain rewards to such as should excel in them, would make them be best practised, so as to have them ready for use upon occasion." "Child," said he, "you say very well; for, by doing this, you will see the several orders and divisions of your men, like sets of dancers, always performing their proper parts."

"But then," said Cyrus, "with respect to the raising courage and spirit amongst the soldiers; I think nothing more effectual, than to give the men great hopes of advantage." "But, child," said he, "this expedient is just as if any one in hunting should always encourage the dogs in the same manner that is used when the beast is in view; for one that should do thus would have them very eager and

Digitized by Google

ready at his encouragement at first, but, if he often deceived them, they would at last give no attention to his encouragement, when the beast was really in his view. It is the same with respect to these hopes; if any one should balk men often, after having raised them to mighty expectations, he would not at last be able to prevail with them, though he talked to them of hopes ever so real and well-grounded. But, child," said he, "you must be very cautious in saying any thing that you do not very well know; the same thing, sometimes, said by others, may do the business; your own encouragement you must, with the utmost care, preserve in credit for the greatest occasions." "Indeed, father," said Cyrus, "in my opinion, you say perfectly well, and this way is to me much the more agreeable.

"But, in the matter of rendering the soldiers obedient, I take myself, father, not to be unskilled; for presently, from a boy, you took me under discipline, and obliged me to be obedient to you; then you gave me up to my teachers, and they did the same thing. Then, again, when I became one of the youth, our ruler took effectual care in this matter; and there are many laws that, in my opinion, tend chiefly to the teaching of these two things, how to govern, and how to obey; and, upon considering them, I think I find that the most proper means to enforce obedience is to praise and recompense the obedient, and to disgrace and punish the disobedient." "Indeed, child," said he, "to a forced obedience this is the way; but to a willing obedience, which is much the better, there is another way, and a readier; for, whoever men take to be more knowing than themselves in what is for their interest and advantage, such a one they obey with pleasure. This you may know to be true in many other cases, as well as particularly in that of sick people, who are mighty ready and zealous in sending for such as may prescribe what is fit for them to do;

Digitized by Google

so at sea, the people that are on board, are very ready and zealous to obey their pilots; and travellers are extremely averse to part with such as they think know the roads better than themselves: but when men think that they shall be injured by their obedience, they will neither yield to punishments nor be raised by rewards; for no one willingly takes a reward to his own prejudice." "You say, father," said he, "that nothing more effectually procures one obedience than to appear to have more wisdom and knowledge than those that one rules." "I do say so," said he. "And how, father," said he, "shall one be best able to raise such an opinion of one's self?" "Child," said he, "there is no readier way to appear wise and knowing in things wherein you desire to appear so, than to be in reality knowing in those things; and considering the things in particular, you will find that what I say is true. For, if you would appear a good husbandman, a good horseman, a good physician, a good player upon the flute, or any other artist whatever, when you really are not so, consider how many contrivances you must use in order to appear so. And if you can prevail with a great many people to commend you, that you may gain a reputation, and if you purchase fine instruments, and furniture belonging to each of the arts, you are then an impostor. And, soon after, when you come to give proof of your skill, you would be convicted, and would appear an arrogant boaster. But with respect to future time, and to what may or may not turn to advantage in the consequence, what is the way to make one's self in this really wise and knowing? It is plain, child," said he, "by learning every thing that one can acquire the knowledge of by learning, as you have learnt the tactic art; but, with respect to what is not to be learnt from men, nor attained to by human foresight, consulting the gods, in such cases, by divination, you will make yourself more knowing than others: and

Digitized by Google

what you find most proper to be done, you are to take care that it be done; for to see to the execution of what is proper, is more the part of a man of prudence than to neglect it."

"But then," said Cyrus, "as to the being beloved by those that one rules, which is amongst the things that I take to be of the greatest importance, it is evident, that the way is the same as it is to gain the love of friends: for I know very well that one ought to be seen doing them service." "But, child," said he, "it is a matter of great difficulty to be always able to serve those that one has a mind to serve; but to be observed to rejoice with them when any good fortune befals them; and to grieve with them when any thing ill; to appear zealous to assist them in their distresses; afraid lest they should miscarry in any thing; and to endeavour to prevent this by care and circumspection; these are things that you ought rather to concur with them in. And, in point of action, the commander ought to be observed to undergo more heat in the summer, and in the winter more cold, and, in great fatigues, more labour and pains than others; for all these things contribute to the being beloved by those that are under one's government." "You say, father," said he, "that a commander ought, in all respects, to undergo more than those that he commands." "I do say it," said he;" and be of good courage, child, for, be assured, that bodies being alike, the same labours do not fall equally heavy upon the commander and the private man: for glory makes those labours lighter to the commander, and the being conscious to himself that, in whatever he does, he does not lie concealed."

"But then, father, when the soldiers are supplied with all things necessary, when they are in health, and able to undergo labour, when they are skilful and well exercised in all the military arts, when they are ambitious to appear brave men, when obedience is more pleasing to them than the contrary; would

Digitized by Google

not you think a man wise who should then desire, upon the first opportunity, to bring them to an engagement with the enemy?" "Yes, truly," said he, "provided that he had the enemy at a proper advantage: but if otherwise, the better I thought of myself, and the better I thought of my men, the more upon my guard would I be; and, as in other things that we think of greatest value to us, so in these we should endeavour to have them secured in the strongest manner."

"And what is the best way, father, to take advantage of the enemy?" "Truly, child," said he, this is no contemptible nor simple business that you enquire about. But be it known to you, that he who is to do this must be full of wiles, a dissembler, crafty, deceitful, a thief, and a robber, and must take advantage of his enemy in all manner of ways." Cyrus, laughing at this, cried out, "O, Hercules! what a man, father, do you say that I must be!" "Such a one, child," said he, "as may yet have the strictest regard to law and justice." "Why, then," said he, "while we were boys, and while we were youths, did you teach us the direct contrary?" "And so truly we do still," said he, "with respect to friends and fellow citizens. But do you not know, that, in order to injure enemies, you have learnt a great many mischievous arts?" "Not I, father," said he. "To what end then," said he, "did you learn the use of the bow, and to throw the javelin? To what end did you learn to deceive wild boars with toils and trenches, and stags with snares and gins? What is the reason that, in your encountering lions, bears, and leopards, you did not put yourself upon an even foot with them, but endeavour to take all advantages in engaging them? Do not you know that these are all mischievous artifices, deceits, subtleties, and takings of advantage?" "Yes, truly," said Cyrus, "against beasts; but if I was discovered intending to deceive a man, I got a

Digitized by Google

good many stripes for it." "Nor did we, I think," said he, "allow you to shoot with the bow, or shoot a javelin at a man; but we taught you to throw at a mark, that you might not, at that time, do mischief to your friends, but that, in case of war, you might be able to take your aim at men. And we instructed you to practise deceits, and to take advantages, not upon men, but upon beasts, that you might not hurt your friends by these means, but that, in case a war should happen, you might not be unpractised in them." "Therefore," said he, "father, if it be of use to know both how to do men good, and how to do them harm, it ought to have been taught us how to practice both upon men." "Child," said he, "in the time of our forefathers, there is said to have been a certain teacher of youth, who, just as you desire, taught the boys both to deal justly and unjustly; to be true and to be false; to deceive and not to deceive; to practice calumny and not to practice it; to take advantage and not to take advantage. And he distinguished what was to be practised towards friends and what towards enemies; and, proceeding yet farther, he taught, that it was just even to deceive friends, if it were done for their good; and just to play the thief, and to steal from friends what belonged to them, if it were done for their good. And this teacher was obliged to exercise the boys one against another in the practice of these things, as they say the Greeks teach to deceive in wrestling, and exercise the boys in it one against another, that they may know how to put it in practice. Some, therefore, having so natural an aptness to deceive and take advantage, and, perhaps, no unnatural unaptness to make profit and advantage to themselves, did not refrain from using their endeavours to take advantages upon friends. Upon this, therefore, a decree was made, which is yet in force among us, to teach the boys simply and directly, as we teach our servants in their behaviour

Digitized by Google

towards us, to tell truth, not to deceive, not to steal, not to take advantage; and, if they transgress in these things, to punish them, that, being so accustomed to these manners, they might become more mild and tractable citizens. But when they come to the age that you now are at, to teach them what is lawful with respect to enemies, seemed what might be done securely; for it did not seem probable, that being bred together with a reverence for each other, you should afterwards break out so as to become wild and savage citizens: just as we avoid discoursing concerning the affairs of the beautiful goddess before very young people, lest, a freedom from restraint being added to a vehement desire, they should fall into great excess in their dealing that way." "To me, therefore," said he, "father, as being a very late learner of these artifices, do not refuse to teach them, if you know any, that I may take advantage of the enemy." "Do all then," said he, "that is in your power, with your own men in the best order, to take the enemy in disorder; the enemy unarmed, with your own men armed; the enemy sleeping, with your own men waking; the enemy open and exposed to you, yourself being concealed and in the dark to them; to fall upon them while engaged in difficult places, yourself being master of a place of strength." "And how," said he, "can one possibly catch the enemy making such mistakes as these?" "Because, child," said he, "both the enemy and yourselves are obliged, by necessity, to undergo many things of this kind. For you must both get provisions; you must both necessarily have rest; and in the morning you must all, almost together, retire for necessary occasions; and, in your marches, you must make use of such roads as you find, whatever they are: considering all these things, in whatever part you know yourself to be the weakest, in that you must be the most watchful; and in whatever part you observe the

Digitized by Google

enemy to be most exposed, in that you must attack him."

"Is it in these things only," said Cyrus, "that advantages are to be taken, or may it be done in others?" "It may be done in others, child," said he, "and more effectually; for, in these cases, men, for the most part, place strong guards, knowing full well that they are necessary. They that would deceive the enemy may possibly, by raising in them a confidence and security, surprise them unguarded; or, by letting themselves be pursued, may bring the enemy into disorder, and enticing them on, by their flight, into a disadvantageous post, may there attack them. But you, child, who are fond of skill in all these affairs, must not make use of such things only as you have been informed of; you must be yourself the contriver of some stratagems to put in practice against the enemy. For as musicians do not only deal in such songs as they have been taught, but endeavour to compose others; and, as in music, such pieces as are new, and, as one may say, in flower, meet with success and approbation, so, in affairs of war, new contrivances are best approved, for they are most capable of deceiving the enemy. But, child," said he, "if you do no more than transfer to men those contrivances that you have used to ensnare little animals, do not you think," said he, "you will go a great way in the art of taking advantage of your enemy? For, in order to catch birds, you used to rise and go out in the night, in the hardest winter, and, before the birds were stirring, you had your nets ready laid for them; and a moveable foundation was disguised, and made like an immoveable one; you had birds ready taught to serve your ends, and to deceive those of their own kind; you yourself lay hid, but so as to see them, and not to be seen by them; and you watched your opportunity to draw your nets, and to prevent the birds escaping. Then, with respect to the hare, because

Digitized by Google

she feeds in the dusk, and makes away to her form by day, you keep dogs; some of them to find her by the scent, and, because she takes to her heels as soon as she is discovered, you have other dogs that are proper to take her at her course; and if she escape these, then, having before discovered the meshes, and to what parts the hares choose to run, in these places you lay nets that are hardly to be seen, that, in the eagerness of her course, throwing herself into the net, she may be hampered; and that she may not escape this snare, you set people to watch what passes; and these, from some places near, are presently upon her; you yourself follow her, you astonish and amaze her with clamour and noise, that never quits her, so that in this distraction she is taken: and you make those that are set to watch lie concealed, with instructions beforehand to be perfectly still and silent. As I said before, therefore, if you would form some such contrivances against men, I do not know that you would leave one enemy alive. But if there is a necessity to fight upon even terms with respect to situation, openly, and both parties prepared and armed, in such a case, child, those advantages, that you have been long before provided with, are of great weight; I mean those when the bodies of your men are duly exercised, their minds keen, and all the soldiers' arts well practised. Besides, it is very necessary that you should know, that whoever they are that you desire should be obedient to you, they, on their part, will desire you to be provident and careful of them; therefore, never be remiss, but consider at night what your men shall do when it is day; and consider in the day how matters may be upon the best foot with respect to the passing of the night. But as to the forming your army for battle; the marching them, either by day or by night, through narrow or through open ways, through mountains or plains; how to encamp; how to place your

Digitized by Google

guards and watches both by night and day; how to lead towards the enemy; how to retreat from them; how to march by a city belonging to the enemy; how to march up to a rampart, and to retreat from it; how to pass woods or rivers; how to be upon the guard, either against horse or against men armed with javelin or bow: and if, when you are marching by way of either wing, the enemy should appear, how to form a front against them; and if you are marching by your front, and that the enemy appear in another part and not in front; how to lead against them; how to get the best intelligence of the enemy's affairs, and how best to conceal your own from them. In all these matters, what can I say to you? You have often heard from me all that I knew of them, and, besides, whoever you have thought knowing in any of these affairs, you have not neglected to take their information, nor are you unskilled in them; therefore, according to the several occurrences, you must always make use of these things as they appear to be to your advantage. And take my instruction, child," said he, "likewise, in these things, and which are of the greatest importance: Never engage either yourself or the army in any thing contrary to the sacrifices and auguries; reflecting how men have chosen to engage in certain actions at hazard, and without knowing at all on which side of the choice they should meet with their advantage. This you may be convinced of by things that often happen: there are many instances of men, and they such as have been thought the wisest, who have persuaded some to begin a war against others, who have destroyed those that had been persuaded to be the aggressors. There are instances of many, who have raised both cities and private men, and have suffered the greatest misfortunes at the hand of those they had so raised. There are instances of many, who, when they might have used others as their friends in a mutual intercourse of good offices,

Digitized by Google

and who, choosing to hold them rather as slaves than as friends, have met with revenge and punishment at their hands. Many, who not liking to live contentedly, possessing a part, and affecting to be lords of all, have by this means lost what was their own: and many, who have acquired the much-wished-for metal, gold, have been destroyed by it. So human wisdom knows no more how to choose the best, than one who should determine to act as chance and the lot should decide. The gods, child, who are eternal, know all things that have been, all things that are, and all that shall happen in consequence of every thing; and, when men consult them, they signify to those that they are propitious to, what they ought to do, and what not. And if they will not give advice to all, it is no ways wonderful; for they are not under any necessity to take care of those of whom they are not willing to take care."

Digitized by Google

CYROPÆDIA;

OR, THE

INSTITUTION OF CYRUS.

BOOK II.

DISCOURSING in this manner, they arrived at the borders of Persia; when an eagle appearing to the right, led the way before them. And when they had made their supplications to the gods and heroes, guardians of Persia, to dismiss them favourably and propitiously, they passed the borders. When they had passed them, they again made supplication to the gods, guardians of Media, to receive them propitiously and favourably; and, having done this, and embraced each other, as usual, the father returned into Persia, and Cyrus marched on into Media to Cyaxares.

When Cyrus came to Cyaxares in Media, they first embraced each other, as usual, and Cyaxares afterwards asked Cyrus, "What force he was to bring him." He replied, "Thirty thousand of such as have been before with you, and served for their pay; but there are others coming, who have never yet served out of their own country, and are of the order of those that are free, and equally entitled to all honours." "And how many of these?" said Cyaxares. "The number of them," replied Cyrus,

Digitized by Google

"will not please you, when you hear it: but, consider," said he, "that those who are called the alike-honoured, though but few, rule with ease the rest of the Persians, who are very numerous. But," said he, "are you in any real want of these men, or are you under a vain alarm, and the enemy not coming?" "Indeed they are," said he, "and in great numbers." "How does this appear?" "Why, a great many people, who come from thence, some by one means and some by another, all say the same thing; then engage with these men we must; we must of necessity," said he. "Well, then," said Cyrus, "why do not you tell me whether you know what these forces are, that are coming upon us, and what we have of our own, that, being apprized of both, we may afterwards consult how to carry on the war in the best manner?" "Attend, then," said Cyaxares; "Crœsus, the Lydian, is said to bring with him ten thousand horse, targeteers and archers upwards of forty thousand. They say, that Arsamas, who governs the Greater Phrygia, brings eight thousand horse; targeteers and lance-men not less than forty thousand. That Aribœus, king of the Cappadocians, brings six thousand horse, archers and targeteers not less than thirty thousand. The Arabian Maragdus, ten thousand horse, one hundred chariots, and of slingers a very considerable body. As to the Greeks that are settled in Asia, there's nothing said of certain whether they attend the expedition or no. They say, that Gabæus, who rules those that inhabit the country that extends from Phrygia on the Hellespont to the plain of Cayster, contributes six thousand horse, and ten thousand targeteers. The Carians, Cilicians, and Paphlagonians, though invited, they say, do not attend the expedition. The Assyrians, who possess Babylon and the rest of Assyria, will, as I judge, bring no less than twenty thousand horse; chariots, as I know very well, not more than two hundred; but, I believe a vast body

Digitized by Google

of foot; for so he is accustomed to do when he falls in upon us." "The enemy then," said Cyrus, "you say, amount to sixty thousand horse, and to more than two hundred thousand targeteers and archers. To proceed, then, what do you say is the number of your own forces?" "The Median horse are above ten thousand; and of targeteers and archers there may be, perhaps, in our own territories, about sixty thousand; and of the Armenians, our neighbours, we shall have four thousand horse and twenty thousand foot." "You say, then," said Cyrus, "that we shall have in horse less than a third part of the enemy's force of that sort, and scarce half the number of their foot." "What!" said Cyaxares, "do you think those Persians, that you say you bring, are but an inconsiderable number?" "We will take another time," said Cyrus, "to consider whether we want men or no: at present, pray tell me what is the method of fight that is in use with those several people." "They almost all," said Cyaxares, "use the same: some of their men, as well as of our own, use the bow, and others the javelin." "Then," said Cyrus, "since such are their arms, they must necessarily engage at a distance." "Necessarily," said Cyaxares. "In this case, therefore," said Cyrus, "the victory falls to the greater number; for the few, wounded by those weapons, are much sooner destroyed by the many, than the many by the few." "If it be so, Cyrus," said he, "what way can one find better than to send to the Persians, acquaint them that, if the Medes sustain any loss, the misfortune will reach to themselves, and, at the same time, to require from them a greater force." "Be assured," said Cyrus, "that if all the Persians should come, we should not exceed the enemy in numbers." "What have you in view, then, that is better?" "Why," said Cyrus, "if I were you, I would immediately make, for all the Persians that are coming, such arms as those

Digitized by Google

men, that are called the alike-honoured, come provided with; and these are, a corselet about the breast, a shield for the left hand, and a sword, or cutlass, for the right. If you provide these arms, you will make it the safest way for us to come to close fight with the enemy; and better for the enemy to fly than to stand their ground. For our own station," said he, "we appoint against those that stand their ground; and those that fly we allot to you and to your horse, that they may not have time to make their escape or to turn again." Thus Cyrus spoke. Cyaxares was of opinion that he said very right, and he thought no longer of sending for more men, but applied himself to the providing of the arms before mentioned; and they were scarce got ready before the Persian gentlemen, or alike-honoured, arrived, bringing the Persian army with them.

Upon this, Cyrus is said to have called the gentlemen together, and to have spoken to them thus: "Friends, I, who saw that your persons were armed, and your minds prepared for close fight with your enemy, and knew that the Persians who attend you were armed in such manner as to engage only at a distance, was afraid that, being but few in number, and destitute of others to support you, when you fell in with the great number of the enemy, you might come by some misfortune. Now, therefore," said he, "that you are come, and bring with you men whose bodies are not contemptible, and who are to be supplied with arms like our own; to raise their minds is now your part. For it is the business of a commander not only to be himself brave, but to take such care of those that he rules, that they may be made as brave as is possible." Thus he said.

They were all much pleased; imagining they should now engage the enemy with more to assist and support them. And one of them spoke to this effect. "Perhaps," said he, "I shall be thought to talk strangely, if I advise Cyrus, instead of us, to

Digitized by Google

say something to these men, who are to be our supports and fellow combatants, when they receive their arms; for, I know," said he, "that the words of those, who have the most power to do service or to do hurt, sink deeper into the minds of the hearers. And the presents that such men make, though they happen to be less than what men may receive from others like themselves, yet the receivers value them more. So now," said he, "the Persians will be much more pleased if they receive an exhortation from Cyrus, than if they receive it from us. And when they are placed in the degree of the alike-honoured, they will think themselves more strongly confirmed in it, if done by the son of our king, and by our commander in chief, than if they are introduced to it by us. Nor ought our endeavours to be wanting; but we should use all possible means to excite and raise the courage of these men; for how much soever they become braver and better men, it will be so much the more to our advantage."

So Cyrus, setting down the arms in a place exposed to view, and, calling together all the Persian soldiers, spoke to this effect: "Men of Persia, you were born and bred in the same country that we were; you have bodies that are noways inferior to ours, and you ought to have souls too not inferior to ours. And yet, though such you are in yourselves, in our own country you were not upon an equal foot with us. Not that you were excluded from it by us, but by the necessity you were under of providing yourselves with necessaries. Now, with the help of the gods, it shall be my care that you shall be supplied with these. And even though you may be in any sort inferior to us, yet by accepting these arms, that are such as we have ourselves, it is in your power, if you will, to run the same hazards with us; and, if any thing great and advantageous happen to us upon it, to be thought worthy of like advantages with ourselves. Heretofore, you have

Digitized by Google

used the bow and the javelin; we have done the same: and if you are inferior to us in the practice of these, it is not at all wonderful; for you have not had the leisure that we have had, to exercise yourselves in them. But, in this sort of arms, we have no advantage above you, for every one will have a corselet fitted to his breast, for the left hand a shield, which you are all accustomed to wear; and, for the right, a sword or cutlass, which you are to use against the enemy; not needing to be mindful of any thing but how not to miss your blow. Under these arms, therefore, what difference can there be between one and another amongst us, unless it be in boldness, in which you ought not to be inferior to us? How should it be our part more than yours to be desirous of victory, by which all things great and advantageous are acquired and preserved? How can superiority of arms be less necessary to you than to us, when it is by this, that all the conquered possess becomes yielded to the victors?" In conclusion, he said, "You have heard all these things; you, all of you, see your arms; he that thinks fit, let him take them, and list himself under his officer into the same order and degree with us. He that thinks it enough for him to be in the station of a mercenary, let him continue under servile arms." Thus he said. The Persians who heard him were of opinion, that if, when they were invited to an equal share of all advantages, by sharing in like labours, they should not agree to it, they should then justly pass all their days in a mean and low condition. So they were all listed, and all took the arms.

During the time that the enemy was said to be approaching, but did not actually come, Cyrus endeavoured to exercise the bodies of his men, in order to give them strength and vigour; to teach them how to form themselves, and to move in proper order, and to raise their minds to warlike affairs. And, in the first place, being supplied with servants by

Digitized by Google

Cyaxares, he ordered them to supply all the soldiers with every thing, ready-made, that they wanted. And having provided for this, he left them nothing to do but to practise such things as related to war, seeming to have learned this maxim, that those men were best at any thing, who, taking off their minds from application to many things, apply themselves to one business singly. And of affairs that relate to war, cutting them off from the practice of the bow and javelin, he left them only this one thing to do, which was to fight with sword, shield, and corselet. So that he presently brought their minds to this state, that they found they were either to engage their enemy hand to hand, or to confess, that they were very worthless supports and fellow combatants. And this was a difficult thing to be owned by such as knew they were maintained for nothing else but to fight for those that maintained them. Besides, having considered that, whatever the things are wherein men are raised to an emulation one against another, those are the things they are most willing to exercise themselves in; he appointed them to contend and vie with each other in all those kinds of things that he knew were fit to be exercised and practised by the soldiers.

The things he so appointed were these: to the private man, to make himself a good soldier, obedient to his commanders; ready to undergo labour; to be enterprising in dangers, but consistently with good order; to be skilful in the military exercises; fond of having his arms beautiful and in good condition; and in all such matters desirous of praise. To the leader of five, to make himself such as it became the private man to be; and to do his utmost to make his five likewise such. To the leader of ten, to make his ten such. To the captain to do the same for his company; the colonel for his regiment; and, in the same manner, to the rest of the commanding officers, to render themselves unexception-

Digitized by Google

able and blameless; and to take care that those who were under their command should, in their several stations, make those under them ready to do their duties. The rewards he proposed in this contention were these: to the colonels, who, by their care, appeared to have made themselves the best regiments, to be made commanders of a thousand; to the captains, who appeared to have made themselves the best companies, to be made colonels; to the leaders of ten, that approved themselves the best, to be advanced to the degree of captains; and to the leaders of five, in like manner to be advanced to the degree of leaders of ten: and to the private men that behaved best, to be advanced to the degree of leaders of five. In the first place, therefore, all these officers were well served by those they commanded, and then all those other honours, suitable to every one, attended them. He likewise gave greater hopes to those who deserved praise, in case any more than ordinary advantage should upon occasion fall in their way. He proposed also certain rewards of victory to whole regiments and companies. So, likewise, to whole tens and fives, if they appeared to be the most obedient to their commanders, and to perform the things before-mentioned with the greatest ardour and readiness; and the rewards to these were such as were the most proper to be bestowed in common upon a number of men. These were the things that were proposed to the army, and exercised amongst them.

Tents he likewise provided for them, as many in number as were the colonels, and of a size such as was sufficient for each regiment; and a regiment consisted of a hundred men. Thus they were quartered in tents by regiments. And it seemed to him to be of use to his men, in the war that was coming on, that, by thus inhabiting together, they saw each other maintained alike; and there was no pretence of lying under a disadvantage, so as to allow any one

Digitized by Google

to be remiss, or one to be worse than another, in acting against the enemy. It seemed to him likewise that this joint habitation was of use to them with respect to their knowing one another; for, by being known, he thought that a sense of shame and reproach took more place upon all; for they who are unknown seem to act with less caution and restraint, as men do who are in the dark. And this cohabitation seemed to him to be of great service to his men with respect to exactness in their orders; for thus the colonels had their several regiments in order under them in their sleep, just as when a regiment is in a body upon the march; so the captains their companies; the commanders of tens their tens; and the commanders of five their five: and this exactness in their orders seemed to him to be of great service, both to prevent their being put into disorder, and, if disordered, to settle themselves more readily into order again. Just as in the case of stones and pieces of wood, that are to be fitted together, which, if they have certain marks, to make it evident to what place each of them belongs, one may with ease fit together again, into whatever irregular form they may have been thrown. And their being thus maintained together, he thought, was of service to them, in order to make them less ready to desert each other: because he observed that beasts, that had their maintenance together, were in great pain if separated by any one.

Cyrus also took care that they should never go to their dinner or supper without a sweat; for he either led them out to hunt, and gave them a sweat that way, or he contrived such sports for them as would put them into one; or if any business happened that was to be done, he so managed it, that they should not return without sweating; for this he judged to be of service, in order to make them eat with pleasure, and to make them healthy, and to make them able to undergo labour: and labour he

Digitized by Google

judged to be of use in making them more gentle one towards another, because even horses, that labour jointly together, stand likewise more gently and tamely together. And they who are conscious to themselves of being duly exercised, are inspired with more bravery and courage against the enemy.

Cyrus likewise provided himself with a tent sufficient to contain those that he invited to sup with him: he invited, for the most part, such of the colonels as he thought proper; but he sometimes invited some of the captains, some of the commanders of ten, and some of the commanders of five; sometimes some of the soldiers, and sometimes a whole five, a whole ten, a whole company, or a whole regiment together. He invited them likewise, and rewarded those that he saw practise any such thing as he desired all the others should imitate. And the things that were set before himself, and before those that he invited to supper were always alike. He always made the servants of the army likewise equal sharers in all things; for he thought it was not less becoming him to reward those who served in the concerns of the army, than to reward heralds and ambassadors; for he was of opinion that they ought to be faithful, skilled in military affairs, and intelligent, as well as zealous in their business, quick of dispatch, diligent, and orderly. Besides, whatever good quality they had, who were accounted the better sort, that Cyrus thought the servants ought to be possessed of; and that it was their duty to bring themselves, by practice, to refuse no work, but to think it becoming them to do all things whatever that their commanders should enjoin.

And Cyrus always took care that while he entertained any of them in his tent, the most agreeable subjects of discourse, and such as might excite them to good, should be thrown in amongst them. Upon a certain occasion, therefore, he began this discourse: "Friends," said he, "are other men, think you, any

Digitized by Google

ways inferior to us, by reason of their not being disciplined in the same manner as we are? or will they prove not to differ from us at all, either in their converse with each other, or in action against the enemy?" Hystaspes, in answer to him, said, "What they may prove to be in action against the enemy I do not yet know; but, by the gods! some of them seem already to be very perverse and churlish in their conversation; for, yesterday," said he, "Cyaxares sent certain victims to every regiment; and we had every one of us three portions or more, that were carried and distributed around. Our cook began his first distribution by me, when the person who was to make the second distribution entered; I bid him begin with the last man, and carry round the contrary way. One, therefore, from the middle of the circle of soldiers as they lay, cried out, 'by Jove,' said he, 'there's no manner of equality or fairness in this, unless somebody begin from us here in the middle.' I, hearing this, was uneasy that any of them should think they lay under a disadvantage, and I presently bid him come to me; in this he, in a very orderly manner, obeyed me: but when the portions that were distributing came to us who were to take last, they were the least that were left; he then plainly discovered himself to be very much afflicted, and said to himself, 'O, ill fortune! that I should happen to be called hither!' I then said to him, do not be disturbed; it will begin presently by us, and you shall take first the biggest portion. At the third going about, which was the last turn, he took the next after me; but as soon as the third person had taken, he fancied that this man had taken a larger portion than himself, and he threw back that that he had taken, intending to take another; but the cook, thinking that he wanted no more meat, moved on, distributing around, before he took another portion. Here he bore so ill the misfortune of losing the portion he had taken, that, being struck and in wrath

Digitized by Google

at his ill fortune, he misplaced and overturned some sauce he had remaining. A captain, who was the nearest us, seeing this, clapped his hands, and laughed out, much delighted; I," said Hystaspes, "made as if I coughed, for I was not able to hold from laughing. Cyrus," said he, "such a one do I show you one of our companions to be." Upon this, as was natural, they laughed.

Another of the colonels then spoke. "Cyrus," said he, "this Hystaspes, it seems, has met with one of a very perverse temper; but as you instructed us in the order and discipline we were to observe, and dismissed us with commands to instruct every one his regiment in the things he had learned from you; so I, as others did, came to a certain company, and was teaching them; and placing the captain first, and then a young man in order after him, and so the rest, as I thought proper; and then, standing before them, and looking upon the company, when I thought it proper time, I gave the command to advance. This young man, advancing before the captain, marched first; I, seeing him do thus, said to him, Friend, what are you doing? the man said, 'why I advance as you command me.' But, said I, I did not command only you to advance, but all; then, turning to his companions, 'Do not you hear,' said he, 'that the colonel commands you all to advance?' Then all of them passing the captain by, came up to me; but when the captain made them retire back again, they were offended, and said, 'Whom are we to obey? for now one bids us to advance, and another will not suffer us to do it.' Bearing all this contentedly, and placing them as at first, I told them, that none of those behind should move till he that was before him led the way, but that they should all mind only to follow their leading man. In the mean time, there came to me a certain person, that was going to Persia, and he bid me give him the letter I had wrote home; now the captain knew

Digitized by Google

where the letter lay: I bid him therefore run and fetch this letter. He ran his way: the young man, armed as he was, with corselet and sword, followed after his captain; the rest of his company, seeing him run, ran off with him; and all of them came back again, and brought me the letter. Thus," said he, "is this company of mine mighty exact in executing all the instructions they receive from you." The rest, as was natural, laughed at this guard and attendance upon the letter: but Cyrus said, "O Jove, and all you gods! what men have we for our companions! They are so easily served, that many of them might be made one's friends for a little portion of meat; and they are so obedient, that they obey before they understand what they are ordered to do. For my part, I do not know what sort of men we should wish the soldiers to be, unless it be just such!" And Cyrus thus, in laughing, praised the soldiers.

There happened at that time to be in the tent a certain colonel; his name was Aglaitadas; a churlish and austere sort of man in his manners, and he spoke thus: "Do you think, now, Cyrus," said he, "that these men tell you the truth?" "Why, what end," said Cyrus, "have they in lying?" "What else," said he, "but to make you laugh? and, for this reason, they tell you these stories in a vain, arrogant way." "Good words, pray!" said Cyrus: "do not say that they are vain and arrogant; for the word *arrogant* seems to me to lie upon such as feign themselves richer or braver than they really are, and pretend to do what they are not able to do; and that plainly act thus, in order to get something and make profit to themselves. They that move their companions to laughter, and do it neither for their own gain nor to the hearer's prejudice, nor with intent to do any manner of harm,, why may not such be called polite and agreeable, much rather than arrogant?" Thus did Cyrus apologize for such

Digitized by Google

as afforded matter of laughter. The colonel, then, who had told the pleasant story of the company of soldiers, said, "If we endeavoured, Aglaitadas, to make you cry, would not you blame us very much? as there are some who, in songs and discourses, uttering certain melancholy notes and things, endeavour to move people by tears. But now, though you yourself know that we are desirous to give you pleasure, and not in the least to hurt you, yet you hold us thus in great disgrace!" "By Jove," said Aglaitadas, "I do, and justly; because, in my opinion, he that makes his friends laugh does a much more worthless and insignificant thing than he who makes him cry: and you will find, if you reckon right, that I say true. Fathers bring their sons to a discreet and modest temper of mind, and teachers their youth to all good learning, by tears; and it is by affliction and tears that the laws influence citizens to justice in their conduct. But can you possibly say that your movers of laughter either do any service to the bodies of men, or form their minds to a better sense of their duty, with respect to their private families, or to the public?" Upon this, Hystaspes spoke in this manner: "Aglaitadas," said he, "if you will follow my advice, you shall boldly lay out this very valuable thing upon our enemies, and you shall endeavour to set them a crying; but that worthless thing, laughter, you shall spend upon us," said he, "here, amongst your friends. I know you have a great deal of it that lies by you in store; for you neither use nor spend it yourself, nor do you willingly afford laughter either to your friends or to strangers: so that you have no manner of pretence to refuse bestowing it upon us." "Then," said Aglaitadas, "do you endeavour to get it out of me." And the leader of the company said, "By Jove, then, he is a fool indeed! for I believe one may strike fire out of you, more easily than draw laughter from you." At this the others laughed,

Digitized by Google

knowing the temper of the man; and Aglaitadas himself smiled at it: Cyrus, seeing him pleased, said, "Indeed, captain, you are in the wrong to corrupt the most serious man we have, by tempting him to laugh; and, to do this," said he, "to one who is so great an enemy to laughter!" Here ended this subject of discourse.

After this, Chrysantas spoke thus: "But, Cyrus," said he, "I, and all that are here present, consider that there are come hither with us men, who have some of them more merit, and some less; and, if any advantage fall in our way, they will all think themselves entitled to an equal share of it: but, for my part, I do not think that any thing can be more equal amongst men, than that the good and the bad should be entitled to equal advantages." Cyrus, to this, said, "By the gods, then, friends, it were best for us to give this out, and propose it to be debated in the army, whether they think it proper, if in consequence of our labours, God give us any advantage, that all should share alike in it; or that, examining the actions of every one, we should give to each rewards proportionable?". "But why," said Chrysantas, "should you give this out to be discoursed upon, and not declare that you will have it so? Did not you declare," said he, "what the soldiers should contend and vie with each other in, and what the rewards of the contention should be?" "But, by Jove," said Cyrus, "these matters and those are not alike; for, what they shall acquire by their service, that, I believe, they will reckon common to all; but the command of the army they take to be mine, even from the first setting out: so that, in appointing officers, I believe, they think I do them no wrong." "And do you think," said Chrysantas, "that the multitude assembled will ever decree that every one shall not have his equal share, but that the best shall have the advantage in profits and honours?" "I do think it;" said Cyrus; "partly be-

Digitized by Google

cause of your assistance in it, and, partly, because it is infamous to assert, that he who labours most for the public, and does it most service, is not entitled to the greatest rewards; and, I believe, that the very worst of our men will think it of service to them that the best should have the advantage."

Cyrus had a mind that this should be publicly decreed, even upon the account of the alike-honoured; for he thought that they would be yet better men, if they knew that they themselves were to be judged by their actions, and rewarded accordingly. This, therefore, seemed to him to be the proper opportunity to put it to the vote, whilst the alike-honoured were dissatisfied with the claim of the multitude to equality of shares. So it was the current opinion of those in the tent to give out the discourse upon the subject; and they said, that every one who thought it his part to act like a man ought to give his assistance in it. Upon this one of the colonels laughed, and said,—"I know," said he, "a man, one of the common people, who will help to justify this opinion, that this equality of shares, without distinction, ought not to be." Another asked him, "Whom he meant?" He replied, "Truly, he is one of my own tent, and is, upon every occasion, seeking to get the advantage and upper hand of others." Another then asked,—"And does he seek it in labour and taking pains?" "No, by Jove!" said he, "not in that; but here you have caught me in a lie, for, with respect to labour and things of that kind, he always contentedly allows any one to get the upper hand of him that will."

"Friends," said Cyrus, "my judgment is, that such men as this person speaks of ought to be weeded out of the army, if we intend to preserve it in its virtue and vigour, and to render the soldiers obedient; for the soldiers seem to me to be such as will follow where any one shall lead them the way: good and excellent men certainly endeavour to lead to

Digitized by Google

things good and excellent, vicious men to things vicious, and corrupt men have often more abettors than the sober and industrious. For vice, that takes its course through present pleasures, has these pleasures to assist in persuading the multitude to abet her; but virtue, that moves upwards, has not strength enough, in present occasions, to draw men without distinction after her, especially if there are others, in opposition to her, that exhort men to follow the prone and easy track. They, therefore, who are faulty upon the account of sloth and indolence, these I reckon, like drones, are burdensome to their companions only by the expence of maintaining them; but active associates in vice, who prosecute their interest with industry and impudence, these are the leaders of men to vicious courses; for they often have it in their power to show them that vice will be serviceable to their interest: so that such men must entirely be weeded out. Then, pray, do not consider how to recruit your regiments with your own countrymen; but, as in horses, you look for those that are the best, and not for those that are of your own country, so of men, take such as you think will most contribute to your strength and good order. And that it will be to our advantage to do so, this will bear me testimony, that neither is a chariot swift, if it have but slow horses; nor is it true, if joined to vicious and unmanageable ones: nor can a family be well regulated that uses vicious servants; but a family that wants servants is less injured than one that is confounded by unjust ones. And be it known to you, friends, that the turning out of the vicious will not only be of advantage to you in their being out of the way, but of those that remain; they who have had vice instilled into them will discharge themselves of it again; and the good seeing the vicious punished will adhere to virtue with much more warmth and zeal." Thus he said.

Digitized by Google

All his friends were of opinion with him, and did accordingly.

After this, Cyrus began again to set jest and merriment on foot; for, observing that one of the captains had brought with him a fellow guest, and had placed him next to himself, that the man was excessively rough and hairy, and very ugly, he called the captain by his name, and spoke thus: "Sambaulas," said he, "that young man that lies next to you, do you carry him about with you, according to the Greek custom, because he is handsome?" "No, by Jove," said Sambaulas; "but I am pleased with his conversation, and even with looking at him." They that were present in the tent, upon hearing this, looked at the man, and when they saw that his face was excessive ugly, they all laughed; and one of them said, "In the name of all the gods, Sambaulas, by what piece of service has this man so tied himself to you?" He said, "By Jove, friends, I will tell you; whenever I have called upon him, either by night or by day, he never pretended want of leisure, never obeyed lazily, but always ran to his business with the utmost dispatch: as often as I have ordered him to do a thing, I never saw him execute it without putting himself into a sweat; and he has made the whole twelve such as himself, not showing them in word, but in action, what they ought to be." Then somebody said, "Since he is such an extraordinary man, do not you kiss him as you do relations?" And to this the homely person replied,—"No, by Jove," said he, "for he is not one of those that are fond of labour and pains; and to kiss me would be as much to him as if he underwent the greatest toil."

Such kind of discourses and things, both merry and serious, passed amongst them in the tent. And having, at last, performed the third libation, and made their prayers to the gods for their blessings,

Digitized by Google

they broke up their company in the tent, in order to go to rest.

The next day, Cyrus assembled all the soldiers, and spoke to them to this effect: "Friends, the conflict is at hand; for the enemies are approaching: the rewards of our victory, if we conquer, it is evident, are our enemies themselves, and their fortunes. On the other hand, if we are conquered (for this ought always to be mentioned) thus, likewise, do the fortunes of the conquered stand exposed as the rewards of the conquerors. Therefore, thus," said he, "you ought to determine with yourselves, that, when men are united as associates in war, if every one, within himself, makes account, that nothing will be as it ought to be, unless every one be inspired with zeal and ardour, they then presently perform things great and noble; for nothing of what is proper to be done, is, in this case, neglected. But when every one imagines that another is to fight and act, though he himself play the drone, be it known to you," said he, "that, with such, the success of things will be unhappy to them all. God himself has so established it; to those who will not impose upon themselves the task of labouring for their own advantage, he gives other task-masters. Now, therefore," said he, "let some one stand up, and speak to this point; whether he think that virtue will be the better practised amongst us, if he, who chooses to undergo the greatest toil and run the greatest hazards, obtain the greatest rewards? or if we all see that the worthless man lies under no disadvantage, but that all of us are to share alike?"

Here Chrysantas, one of the alike-honoured, one who was neither tall in his person, nor whose looks bespoke either courage or spirit, but a man of excellent understanding, rose up and spoke thus:— "In truth, Cyrus," said he, "my opinion is, that you do not propose this to our debate, as judging it fit that the worthless should stand upon a foot of

Digitized by Google

equal advantage with the deserving; but to try whether there be such a man amongst us, that will venture to discover himself to be of opinion, that he who performs nothing that is great and noble, should share equally of those advantages that are gained by the virtue and bravery of others. I am," said he, "neither swift of foot, nor have I great strength and vigour in my hands and arms; and, by what I can perform with my person, I reckon I cannot be judged to be the first man, nor yet the second, I believe not the thousandth; perhaps, not the ten thousandth; but this I very well know, that, if they who are men of strength set their hands vigorously to the work, I shall have my share in some advantage or other, and as much as is justly due to me; but if mean and worthless men shall do nothing, and men of bravery and vigour shall be quite out of heart, I am afraid I shall have my share in something else rather than advantage, and such a share as will be greater than I desire." Thus spoke Chrysantas.

After him rose Pheraulas, a Persian, one of the common people; a man intimately known to Cyrus, and much in his favour whilst they were yet in Persia, one whose person was not uncomely, and who, with respect to his mind, was not like one of the mean and ignoble; and he spoke to this effect; "I, Cyrus," said he, "and all the Persians here present, reckon ourselves now entered in the lists of virtue, and setting forward in its career upon an equal foot; for I see that our bodies are all exercised alike, and nourished with like food; that like company and conversation is vouchsafed to us all; and that the same honourable actions lie before us; for obedience to our commanders lies before us in common, and whoever is found sincerely to practise it, that man, I see, obtains rewards and honours at the hands of Cyrus: then to act with bravery against the enemy is not a thing that is becoming to one,

Digitized by Google

and is otherwise to another, but stands recommended as great and noble to us all. And I take upon me to say, that our method of fight is now plainly taught us. I see that all men naturally know it; as every other animal naturally knows a certain method of fight, and this without learning it from any other than from nature; as the bull attacks with his horn, the horse with his hoof, the dog with his mouth, the boar with his tooth; and all of them know," said he, "by what means best to defend themselves against the attack of others; and these things proceed not from the instruction of any master in these arts. I understood presently, from a child, how to interpose something between myself and the person who offered to strike me; and, if I had nothing else, I endeavoured, as well as I was able, by holding up my hands, to hinder and oppose the person that assaulted me; and this I did not only without being taught it, but even though I were beaten for defending myself. When I was a child, wherever I saw a sword, I presently seized it; nor was I taught how to handle it by any one, but, as I say, by nature. This, therefore, I did, not only untaught, but even crossed and hindered in it; as there are many other things that I have been necessarily prompted by nature to do, though controlled and checked in them both by my father and mother. Then, by Jove, with this sword, I hacked and hewed whatever came in my way, when I could do it privately and unseen; for it was not only natural to me, like walking and running, but, besides its being natural, I thought it a pleasure to do it. Since, therefore," said he, "that fighting is the thing now left us to do, and that it is a work that requires courage rather than art, how can it be other than a pleasure to us to enter the lists with these noble persons the alike-honoured, when the rewards of virtue lie equally before us, and we of the people do not run an equal risk? They have at stake a life

Digitized by Google

of honour, which is the most agreeable, and the only one that can be called a life; we only a laborious and ignoble one, which, in my opinion, is but painful and unhappy. Then this, friends, greatly animates me to enter the lists against these men—that Cyrus is to be our judge: he who judges not partially and invidiously, but, I aver, and swear it by the gods, that I think Cyrus loves those that he finds to be deserving not less than he does himself. Accordingly, I observe that he bestows what he has, upon such men, with more pleasure than he takes in his own possession of it. Besides," said he, "these men are greatly elevated with their having been disciplined to bear hunger, thirst, and cold; not knowing that we have been disciplined in the same things, under a much abler teacher than they have been; for there is none a more effectual teacher of these things than necessity, that has taught them us in the completest manner. These men have exercised themselves in the labour of bearing arms, that have been so contrived by all men as to be worn with the greatest ease; but we," said he, "have been obliged, by necessity, to walk and run under heavy burdens; so that the arms we now bear seem to me not to be like burdens, but rather like wings. So count upon me," said he, "Cyrus, as one that will engage in this dispute, and who desire, whatever degree I am in, to be rewarded according to my desert. And I exhort you, my friends of the people, to embark in this military contention, against these men of discipline; for they are now drawn in, and caught in this popular dispute." So spoke Pheraulas; and many others stood up to support them both in their opinion. It was thought fit, therefore, that every one should be rewarded according to his desert, and that Cyrus should be the judge.

Thus did these things proceed; and Cyrus took an occasion to invite an entire regiment, together with their colonel, to sup with him. This he did, up-

Digitized by Google

on having seen the man forming half the men of his regiment against the other half, in order to attack each other: they had all of them their corselets on, and in their left hands their shields: but to one half he had given good large sticks for their right hands, and the others he had ordered to gather clods to throw. When they stood thus, ready prepared, he gave them the signal to engage: then these fell on with their clods; some chanced to fall upon the corselets of the opposite party; some upon their shields: some hit a thigh, some a leg: but, when they came to close, they who had the sticks applied their blows upon the thighs, hands, and legs of their adversaries, as well as upon the necks and backs of such as stooped for their clods: and, at last, they that were armed with the sticks put the others to the rout, laying them on with much laughter and diversion. Then the others, in their turn, taking the sticks, did the same thing to those who took their turn in throwing the clods. Cyrus was much taken with these things; both with the contrivance of the officer, the obedience of the men, that they were at the same time both exercised and diverted, and that those men gained the victory who were armed in the manner that resembled the Persians. Being pleased with these things, he invited them to supper; and observing some of them with their shins bound up, and some with their hands in the same condition, he asked them what harm they had got. They said they had been struck with the clods. He then asked them again, whether it was when they were close together, or while they were at a distance. They said while they were at a distance; but that, when they closed, it was the finest sport imaginable for those that were armed with the sticks; but then, again, they that were wounded by the sticks cried out that they did not at all think it a diversion to be threshed in that close way. They show the blows they receive from those that held the sticks, both

Digitized by Google

upon their hands and neck, and some in their faces: and then, as was natural, they laughed at one another. The next day, the whole field was full of people imitating these men: and, whenever they had nothing of more serious business to do, they made use of this diversion.

And Cyrus observing another colonel upon a certain occasion leading his men from the river, one by one, to their dinner; and, when he thought it proper, ordering the second, third, and fourth company to advance in front; and, when the captains were all in front, ordering each company to double their files, upon which the commanders of tens advanced in front: and that then, when he thought it proper, he ordered each company to bring themselves to be four in front; thus the commanders of five advanced, that the company might march four in front: and that, when they arrived at the door of the tent, commanding them to enter, one by one, he introduced the first company, ordering the second to follow them in the rear, and the third and fourth in like manner, and so led them all in: and that, introducing them in this manner, he sat them all down to their meat, in the order as they entered; he, being much taken with this man for his good temper, instruction, and care, invited the whole regiment to sup with him, together with the colonel. But another colonel, who had not been invited, being present at the time, spoke thus: "But my regiment, Cyrus," said he, "you do not invite to your tent; yet, when they go to their dinner, they perform all these things; and, when the business in the tent is over, the rear leader of the last company leads out that company with the last men ranged first in order for battle: then the rear leader of the next company follows after these; so the third and fourth in the same manner; that, when it is proper to lead off from the enemy, they may know how to retreat. And when we get into the course, we there

Digitized by Google

move about; when we march to the east, I lead the way, and the first company moves first, the second in its order; so the third and fourth, and the tens and fives of the several companies, in the proper course, as long as I give orders accordingly: but," said he, "when we march to the west, the rear leader, and the last man, lead the way, and yet obey me who march last, that they *be* accustomed both to follow and to lead with equal obedience." "And do you always do thus?" said Cyrus. "As often," said he, "as we take our meals." "I will invite you, therefore," said he, "because you practise your exercise both in advancing and retreating, by day and night, and both exercise your bodies by the motion, and profit your minds by the discipline. And since you do all these things double, it is but just that I should give you double good entertainment." "By Jove," said the colonel, "not in one day, unless you give us double stomachs too." Thus they made an end of that conversation in the tent. And the next day Cyrus invited this regiment, as he said he would, and did the same again the day following; the rest, perceiving this, all imitated those men for the future.

But as Cyrus, upon a certain occasion, was making a general muster and review of his men under arms, there came a messenger from Cyaxares, acquainting him, that an Indian embassy was arrived. "Cyaxares," said the messenger, "desires that you would come as soon as possible, and, from him, I bring you a beautiful robe; for he has a mind that you should appear in the handsomest and most splendid manner, the Indians being to see the manner of your approach." Cyrus, hearing this, gave command to the colonel who stood first in order, to place himself in front, bringing his men into one line behind him, and to keep himself to the right. He commanded him to transmit the same orders to the second, and so to deliver them down through the

Digitized by Google

whole. These men, in obedience to Cyrus, presently delivered down the orders, and put them in execution. In a very little time, they formed a front of three hundred, for that was the number of the colonels, and they were a hundred in depth. When they stood thus, he commanded them to follow as he should lead them, and, beginning presently to run, he led them the way. But, when he perceived the avenue, that led to the palace, straiter than to allow them all to move on in front, he commanded the first thousand to follow in the situation and order they were in, and the next to follow in the rear of this, and so in like manner throughout the whole. He himself led on without stopping. The other thousands followed, each in the rear of those that went before. And he sent two servants to the opening of the avenue, to give information of what was to be done, in case any should be ignorant of it. When they came to Cyaxares's gates, he commanded the first colonel to form his regiment to twelve in depth, and to range the commanders of twelves in front around the palace: he commanded him likewise to transmit these orders to the second, and so throughout the whole. They did accordingly. He himself went in to Cyaxares, in a plain Persian robe, undisguised with foreign ornaments. Cyaxares, seeing him, was pleased with his dispatch, but offended at the meanness of his robe, and said, "What have you done, Cyrus, in appearing thus before the Indians? I had a mind," said he, "that you should appear in the most splendid manner; and it had been an ornament to me, for you, who are my sister's son, to have appeared the most magnificent that was possible." Cyrus, to this, said, "Which way, Cyaxares, had I been the greater ornament to you; whether, if clothing myself in purple, putting on bracelets, and encompassing my neck with a collar, I had obeyed you in a loitering manner? or now that, with so great and so good a force, I obey you

Digitized by Google

with such dispatch, having, in honour of you, adorned myself with sweat and diligence, and adorning you, by showing the rest to be so obedient to your orders?" Cyrus thus spoke.

Cyaxares, judging that he said right, gave orders to introduce the Indians. The Indians, being come in, said, "That the king of the Indians had sent them, and had commanded them to ask, what was the cause of the war between the Medes and Assyrians? and, when we had heard you," said they, "he commanded us to go to the Assyrian and ask him the same question; and, in the end, to tell you both, that the king of the Indians does declare, that, after having informed himself of the justice of the cause, he will take part with the injured." Cyaxares to this said, "You hear me, therefore, declare, that we have done no injury to the Assyrians; go, then, and enquire from him what he says to it." Cyrus being present, asked Cyaxares this question: "And may I," said he, "say what I think proper upon this occasion?" Cyaxares bid him do so. "Do you, therefore," said he, "acquaint the king of the Indians thus (unless Cyaxares judge otherwise:) that, if the Assyrian say he has been anyways injured by us, we declare, that we chuse the king of the Indians himself to be our judge." These men hearing this, went their way.

When the Indians were gone, Cyrus began a discourse with Cyaxares, to this effect: "I came from home, Cyaxares, without having abundance of treasure of my own; and, whatever it was, I have but very little of it left; for I have spent it," said he, "upon the soldiers. This, perhaps you will wonder at, since it is you that maintain them. But, be it known to you," said he, "that it has gone in nothing else but in rewards and gratifications to the soldiers, whenever I have been pleased with any of them. For, in my opinion," said he, "it is a much pleasanter thing to encourage all those that one has

Digitized by Google

a mind to make diligent and good fellow labourers with one in any business, of whatever kind it be, by speaking them fair, and doing them good, than to do it by severe usage and by force. But those that one would have to be zealous fellow labourers in the business of war, these, I think, ought absolutely to be courted to it both by good words and good deeds; for such as are to be hearty and sincere fellow combatants, who shall neither envy their commander in prosperity, nor betray him in adversity, ought to be friends, and not enemies. Having determined thus with myself in these matters, I think myself in want of money. And yet, to have my eye, upon every occasion, upon you, when I see you are already engaged in very great expences, seems to me unreasonable. But I think it proper that you and I should jointly consider what means to use that treasure may not fail you; for, if you have plenty, I know that I may take it whenever I want; especially if I take for such a purpose as will make it more to your advantage that the treasure should be so spent. I remember, therefore, upon some occasion lately, to have heard you say, that the Armenian is now grown to contemn you, because he hears that the enemy is coming upon us; and, besides, that he neither sends you the forces, nor pays you the tribute that is due." "Indeed, Cyrus," said he, "these things he really does, so that I am in doubt whether it be better for me to make war upon him, and force him to comply, or whether it be most for our interest to let it pass for the present, lest we add him to the number of our enemies." Cyrus then asked,—"Are their habitations in places of strength, or in such as are accessible with ease?" Cyaxares said, "Their habitations are in places that are not very strong, for I was not negligent in that affair; but there are mountains, whither he may immediately retire, and be in safety, so as neither to be himself exposed, nor any-

Digitized by Google

thing else that may possibly be carried off thither, unless one sit down and besiege him there, as my father once did." Upon this, Cyrus said thus: "But, if you will send me with such a number of horse as may be thought sufficient, I believe, with the assistance of the gods, I can make him send you forces, and pay you tribute. And, besides, I even hope that he will be yet more our friend than he is now." Cyaxares then said, "And I have hopes that he will sooner come to you, than he will to us. For I have heard, that some of his children were your fellow huntsmen; so that, perhaps, they may come to you again. And if some of them once come to be in our power, every thing will succeed to our desire." "Is it not your opinion, then," said Cyrus, "that it will be for our advantage to conceal this contrivance between us?" "By this means," said Cyaxares, "some or other of them may the more easily fall in our hands; or if one fall upon them, they may be taken the more unprepared." "Hear, then," said Cyrus, "if you think what I am going to say may be of any moment: I have often hunted upon the borders of your territory, and that of the Armenians, with all the Persians that were with me; and I went thither, taking likewise from hence several horsemen from amongst my companions here." "Therefore," said Cyaxares, "by doing just the same things now, you may pass unsuspected; but if a much greater force should appear than what you used to have with you in hunting, this would presently give suspicion." "But," said Cyrus, "one may frame a very plausible pretence in this case; and that is, if care be taken that somebody give them an account yonder, in Armenia, that I intend to undertake a great hunt; then," said he, "I would openly desire from you a body of horse." "You say very well," said Cyaxares, "but I shall consent to give you but a few, as intending to march myself to our garrisons that lie towards

Digitized by Google

Assyria. And in reality," said he, "I do intend to go thither, in order to strengthen them as much as possible. But when you are got before with the force you have, and have hunted for a day or two following, I may send you a sufficient force, both of horse and foot, out of those that have rendezvoused under me. With these you may immediately fall on, and I, with the other forces, may endeavour to keep not far from you, that, if there be occasion, I may likewise appear."

Accordingly, Cyaxares presently formed a body of horse at the garrisons; and sent waggons with provisions before by the road that led that way. Cyrus presently made a sacrifice for his intended march; and, at the same time, sent and begged of Cyaxares some of his cavalry, and such as were of the younger sort. He, though there were multitudes that would have attended Cyrus, granted him not very many. Cyaxares being now gone before, with forces, both horse and foot, upon the road towards the garrisons; it happened, that Cyrus's sacrifice, upon his design against the Armenian, succeeded happily; so he set forward as prepared for a hunt. As he was marching, a hare started immediately in the first field, and an eagle of happy omen, flying towards them, caught sight of the hare as it run, and, bearing down upon it, struck it; then, snatching it up, raised it aloft, and bearing it away to an eminence not far off, did there what it thought fit with its prey. Cyrus, therefore, seeing this signal, paid his adoration to Jove, sovereign of the gods, and said to those that were present, "Friends, our hunt, if it please god, will be a noble one!"

When they came to the borders, he hunted after his usual manner. The greater number of his horse and foot opened themselves in front, in order to rouse the beasts as they moved down upon them. The best of his men, both horse and foot, stood here and there dispersed, received the beasts as they were

Digitized by Google

roused, and pursued them; and they took abundance both of swine, stags, goats, and wild asses; for there are yet abundance of wild asses in those parts at this day. When they had finished the hunt, and he had brought them close up to the Armenian borders, he ordered them to supper; and the next day hunted again, advancing to those mountains that he had desired to be master of. And when he had again ended his sport, he took his supper. But as soon as he found that the forces from Cyaxares were advancing, he sent privately to them, and ordered them to take their supper at about the distance of two parasangs from him, foreseeing that this would contribute to the concealing the affair. When they had supped, he ordered their commander to march and join him. After supper was over, he summoned the colonels to him, and when they were come, he spoke to them thus:

"Friends, the Armenian has been heretofore both an ally and subject of Cyaxares; but now, that he finds the enemy coming upon him, he contemns him, and neither sends him forces, nor pays him tribute. It is he, therefore, that we must now hunt, and catch if we can. Thus, therefore," said he, "in my opinion, we must do. Do you, Chrysantas, when you have had a little time to sleep, take half the Persians that are with us, march by the hill, and make yourself master of those mountains, whither, they say, the Armenian flies when he finds himself in danger, and I will give you guides. They say these mountains are full of woods, so that there are hopes you will not be discovered. However, if you send, before the rest of your army, some light men, equipped for expedition, who, both by their number and habit, may look like plunderers; these men, if they meet with any of the Armenians, will prevent those that they can take from giving an account of things; and, by driving away those they cannot take, will hinder them from seeing the whole army, and

Digitized by Google

will make them provide for themselves only as against a band of thieves. Do you," said he, "do thus: I, at break of day, with half the foot, and all the horse, will march directly to the palace of the Armenian by the plain. If he make head against us, it is plain we must fight: if he retire, and quit the plain, it is evident we must hasten after in pursuit of him. If he fly to the mountains, then," said he, "it is your business not to allow any of those that come to escape you; but reckon, as in hunting, that we are to be the finders, and that you stand at the nets. Remember, therefore, this—that the passages must be first stopped before the beast is roused; and that they who are appointed to that station ought to keep concealed, if they have not a mind to turn off every thing that takes its course towards them. And do not act now," said he, "Chrysantas, as the love of hunting has sometimes made you do; for you have often been employed the whole night, and have not slept at all; but you should now allow your men to lie down a while, that they may get a little sleep. And because you used to wander through the mountains, without taking men for your guides, but pursued wherever the beasts led the way, do not march, therefore, now, through such difficult places, but bid your guides lead you the easiest way, unless there be one that is abundantly the shorter; for, to an army, the easiest way is the quickest. And because you used to pass the mountains running, do not, therefore, now lead on at full speed, but with middling dispatch, in such sort that the army may follow you. And it is of great use that some of the most vigorous and hearty should halt sometimes, and encourage the rest; and, when the whole wing is passed, it animates the other's dispatch, to see these running beside them, and passing them by as they themselves move on in their gentle pace."

Chrysantas, hearing this, and being transported with the orders Cyrus had given him, took his guides,

Digitized by Google

and went his way; and, having given the proper directions to those that were to attend in his march, he went to rest. When they had had a moderate time for rest, he marched to the mountains.

Cyrus, as soon as it was day, dispatched a messenger to the Armenian, and bid him say thus: "Prince of Armenia, Cyrus sends you these directions, that you would come away as soon as possible, and bring with you your tribute and your forces. If he asks you where I am, tell him the truth, that I am upon the borders. If he ask whether I am advancing towards him, tell him the truth here too, that you do not know. If he enquire how many we are in number, bid him send somebody back with you, to learn." Having given the messenger these orders, he dispatched him away, thinking it more friendly to do thus, than to march without sending word. And having formed his men into the best order, both for dispatch in marching, and for engagement, in case of need, he began the march; first commanding his men to injure no one; and if any of them met with an Armenian, to bid him be of good heart; and to order every one that had a mind to sell either meat or drink, to come and make his market wherever they were.

Digitized by Google

CYROPÆDIA;

OR, THE

INSTITUTION OF CYRUS.

BOOK III.

CYRUS was taken up in these affairs; but the Armenian, as soon as he heard from the messenger what Cyrus sent to tell him, was struck with it, considering that he had acted unjustly, both in failing to pay his tribute, and in not sending his forces. And the thing he principally feared was, lest he should be discovered to have begun fortifying the place of his residence, in such sort as to render it defensible. Being at a loss upon all these accounts, he sent around to assemble his forces. At the same time he sent his younger son Sabaris, his own wife, his son's wife, and his own daughters, away to the mountains, and sent with them all his most valuable apparel and furniture, appointing them a force to conduct them. And, at the same time, he sent out scouts to discover what Cyrus was doing, and mustered all the Armenians he had at present with him. When immediately there arrived others, who told him, that Cyrus was just behind them; and not having courage enough, upon this occasion, to come to action, he retired.

Digitized by Google

The Armenians, when they saw him act in this manner, ran every one to their own affairs, with intent to put all their effects out of the way. Cyrus, when he saw the whole country full of people, running up and down, and driving all off, sent them word, that he would be an enemy to none that remained at home; but if he caught any one making his escape, he declared he would treat him as an enemy. So the major part remained; some there were who went off with the king.

But when they who conducted the women fell in among those who were in the mountains, they presently set up a cry, and, betaking themselves to flight, many of them were taken; and, at last, the son of the Armenian, the two wives, and the daughters, were likewise taken, as well as all the rich effects they were carrying off with them. As soon as the king perceived what had passed, being at a loss which way to turn himself, he fled to a certain eminence. Cyrus, seeing this, surrounded the eminence with the army that he had with him, and sending to Chrysantas, ordered him to leave a guard upon the mountains, and to come away. The army then joined under Cyrus; and he, sending a herald to the Armenian, put the question to him in this manner: "Tell me," said he, "Armenian, whether it is your choice, staying there, to combat and struggle with thirst and hunger, or to come down upon fair ground and fight us?" The Armenian answered, "That he did not choose to engage in either of these ways." Cyrus, sending again to him, asked him this question: "Why then sit you there, and do not come down?" "I am at a loss," said he, "what I ought to do." "But you ought not to be at a loss about it," said Cyrus, "for you are at liberty to come down and have your cause tried." "And who," said he, "shall be the judge?" "He, without doubt, to whom God has given power to deal with you as he pleases without a trial." Here the Ar-

Digitized by Google

menian, seeing the necessity, came down; and Cyrus, taking him, and all that belonged to him, into the midst of them, encamped around, having his whole force with him.

Just at this time, Tygranes, the eldest son of the Armenian, returned from a journey he had taken abroad; he who had been heretofore a fellow huntsman with Cyrus. When he heard what had happened, he went directly to Cyrus, just as he was, and when he saw his father, and mother, his brother, his sisters, and wife, prisoners, he wept, as was natural for him to do. Cyrus, upon seeing him, gave him no other mark of respect or friendship, but said to him, "You are come very opportunely, that you may be present, and hear the trial and determination of your father's cause." He then presently summoned all the commanders of the Persians and Medes, and invited all such of the Armenians there, as were men of note and quality; and the women, who were there present in their chariots, he sent not away, but allowed them to hear.

When all was ready and in order, he began the discourse. "Armenian," said he, "first of all I advise you, in this trial of your cause, to speak the truth, that you may be free from one crime at least, which is a most hateful one. For, be assured, that to be found false is the greatest bar that can lie in men's way to the obtaining of pardon. Then," said he, "these children and wives of yours, and all the Armenians present, are apprized of all that you have done; and if they perceive that you say things contrary to what has passed, they will think, if I discover the truth, that you condemn yourself to the extremity of punishment." "Ask me," said he, "Cyrus, what you will, as being resolved to tell you truth, happen what will in consequence of it." "Tell me then," said he, "did you some time ago make war with Astyages, my mother's father, and with the rest of the Medes?" "I did," said he;

Digitized by Google

" and when you were conquered by him, did you agree, that you would pay him tribute? that you would join your forces to his wherever he should direct? and that you would have no fortifications?" " These things were as you say." " Now, therefore, why have you neither brought your tribute, nor sent your forces, but were building you fortifications?" He replied, " I was desirous of liberty; for I thought it a noble thing, both to be free myself, and to leave liberty to my children." " It is, indeed, noble!" said Cyrus, " to fight, in order not to be made a slave: but, if a man be conquered in war, or by other means be reduced to servitude, and be found attempting to throw off his masters, do you yourself first pronounce whether you reward and honour such a one as an honest man, and as one that does noble things? or, if you take him, do you punish him as one that acts unjustly?" " I punish him," said he; " you do not suffer me to falsify." " Tell me, therefore, plainly," said Cyrus, " and in particular thus: if a man be a governor and transgress, do you suffer him to continue in his government, or do you constitute another in his stead?" " I constitute another," said he. " If he is master of great riches, do you suffer him to continue rich, or do you reduce him to poverty?" " I take from him," said he, " all that he has." " If you find him revolting to the enemy, what do you do?" " I put him to death," said he; " for why should I die convicted of falsehood, rather than die telling the truth?"

Here, his son, as soon as he heard these things, threw off his turban, and rent his clothes. The women set up a lamentable cry, and tore themselves, as if their father were expired, and themselves lost and undone. Cyrus bid them be silent, and again spoke. " Be it so, Armenian! that these determinations of yours are just, what do you advise us to do upon it?" The Armenian was silent, being at a

Digitized by Google

loss whether he should advise Cyrus to put him to death, or direct him to act just contrary to what he had said he would do himself.

His son Tygranes then asked Cyrus, "Tell me," said he, "Cyrus, since my father seems to be at a loss, whether I shall advise you what I think best for you to do in this case?" And Cyrus, well remembering that, when Tygranes used to hunt with him, there was a certain sage, very conversant with him and much admired by him, was very desirous to hear what he would say, and joyfully bid him speak his opinion. "Then," said Tygranes, "if you approve all the measures that my father has concerted, and all that he has done, I advise you, by all means, to imitate him; but, if you are of opinion, that he has transgressed in all, my advice is, that you should not imitate him." "Then," said Cyrus, "by doing justice, I shall be the farthest from an imitation of the person transgressing." "It is so," said he. "According to your own reasoning, then, your father should be punished, if it be just to punish one who acts unjustly." "But whether do you think it best, Cyrus, to inflict your punishments for your own advantage, or to your own prejudice?" "Why, this way," said he, "I should punish myself." "And truly you would be highly punished," said Tygranes; "if you put to death those that belonged to you, at the time that they would be of the greatest service to you to preserve." "But how," said Cyrus, "can men be so highly serviceable and useful, when found to have acted unjustly?" "Why truly, if they become considerate and humble; for, in my judgment, Cyrus, things stand thus,—there is no virtue useful and profitable, without a discreet and sober sense of things. For," said he, "what use can be made of a man, who has strength and bravery, without discretion and modesty? What use of one skilled in horsemanship; or of one abounding in riches, or powerful in his country? But, with discretion and

Digitized by Google

modesty, every friend is useful, and every servant good." "This, therefore," said he, "you assert, that your father, from insolent and haughty, is become discreet and humble, in this one day's time?" "I do," said he. "Then this discreet and modest state of mind, you pronounce to be a passion of the soul, as grief is; and not a matter of knowledge and science? For, if it be necessary that he, who becomes discreet and modest, should be wise and knowing, he cannot then, from insolent and haughty, become, in an instant, discreet and modest." "But, Cyrus," said he, "did you never observe a man, out of pride and insolence, attempt fighting with another more powerful than himself, and when conquered, presently fall from that insolence? Again," said he, "have you never seen one city engaged in war with another, and when conquered, immediately, by this means, become willing to obey, instead of continuing the war?" "And what conquest over your father," said Cyrus, "is this you speak of, and that thus forcibly brings him to a discreet and humble sense of things?" "Why, truly, the being conscious to himself, that, while he has affected liberty, he has become yet more a slave than ever; and that, of all the things he thought to have effected, by privacy, by artifice, or by force, he has not been able to effect one: but he has seen you deceive him, in every thing you intended to deceive him in, as effectually as one might deceive the blind, or the deaf, or men of no understanding at all. He knows you have kept yourself so concealed from him, where you thought it proper so to do, that the places he thought the most secure to him, these, by concealed preparations, you have made yourself master of; and you have so far exceeded him in dispatch, that you are come upon him with a very considerable army, from afar, before he had assembled his forces, that were just at hand." Are you of opinion, then," said Cyrus, "that such a con-

Digitized by Google

quest is sufficient to give men so much consideration and modesty, as to think others better than themselves?" "Much more," said Tygranes, "than if a man were conquered in fight; for, he who is subdued by force, may think that, by exercising his body, he may be enabled to renew the combat; and cities, that have been taken, imagine that by gaining allies, they may renew the war. But men often voluntarily submit to those whom they judge better than themselves, though under no necessity of doing it." "You seem," said he, "not to be of opinion, that the proud and insolent can have any sense, that there are any more modest and considerate than themselves; or thieves, that there are any who are not thieves; or false men, that, there are any observers of truth; or unjust men, that there are any who act with justice. Do not you know," said he "that your father has, at this time, dealt falsely, and not stood to his agreements with us, though he knew very well that we had not transgresssed in any sort what Astyages had stipulated?" "Nor do I say, that the knowledge, alone, of others being better than ourselves, makes men considerate and modest, unless they receive punishment, at the hands of those their betters, as my father has now done." "But your father," said Cyrus, "has yet suffered no sort of ill: I know very well that he is afraid, indeed, of the highest punishments." "Do you think, therefore," said Tygranes, "that any thing oppresses men more than violent fear? Do not you know that they who are oppressed by the sword, which is reckoned the severest correction, will recur again to arms against the same enemy; but those, that they are thoroughly afraid of, they are not able so much as to look at, when they do but confer with them?" "Do you say," said he, "that fear is a heavier punishment upon men than real misfortune?" "You know yourself," said he, "that what I say is true; you know, that they who are in fear of being banished

Digitized by Google

their country, or that are in dread of being beaten, in an engagement approaching, are in a most dejected condition. They that are at sea, and that dread shipwreck, and they that fear servitude and chains, are neither able to eat nor sleep for their fear; but they who are already under banishment, who are already conquered and already slaves, are often in a condition to eat and sleep better than the fortunate themselves. And how great a burden fear is, is yet more evident by this, that some, in dread that death would follow their captivity, have died beforehand by means of that dread; some throwing themselves headlong, some hanging themselves, and some dying by the sword. So that, of all things terrible, fear strikes deepest into the minds of men. In what state of mind, then," said he, "do you take my father to be; he who fears not only for his own liberty, but for mine, for that of his wife, and that of all his children?" Then Cyrus said, "It does not seem at all improbable to me, that your father is, at this time, affected in this manner; but it belongs to the same man to be insolent and injurious in prosperity, and, when broken in his fortune, to be dejected and sunk, and when re-established in his affairs, to become insolent again, and again to create disturbance." "Truly, Cyrus," said he, "our transgressions give you cause to distrust us: but you are at liberty to build fortresses, to keep possession of our places of strength, and to take whatever other pledge you please; and yet," said he, "you will not find us very uneasy under these sufferings; for we shall remember, that we ourselves were the cause of them. But if, by giving up our government to any of those, who are free from guilt, you appear distrustful of us; look to it, lest, at the same time, you should be a benefactor to them, they shall think you no friend. And if, in caution against their enmity, you do not impose a yoke upon them to prevent their injuries; look to it, that you come not under a

Digitized by Google

greater necessity of reducing them to be considerate and humble, than you are now under of acting that part towards us." "By the gods," said he, "it is, methinks, with displeasure, that I make use of such servants as I know serve me by necessity and force; but those that I judge to act their parts, in concert with me, out of friendship and good will, these, I think, I can more easily bear with when they transgress, than with those that hate me, and who, by force, discharge their duty the most completely." Tygranes to this said, "And with whom can you ever acquire so great a friendship, as you may with us?" "With those, as I take it, who have never been so much at enmity with us, provided I would be that friend and benefactor to them, that you now desire me to be to you." "And can you possibly find, Cyrus," said he, "at this time, any one whom it is in your power to gratify in so high a degree as you may my father? First," said he, "if you grant their lives to those who never did you any injury, what thanks will they pay you for it, think you? If you leave a man his wife and children, who can have greater friendship for you, upon this score, than he who thinks they may be justly taken from him? Do you know any one that will be more afflicted than ourselves, if the kingdom of Armenia be not given them? And it is evident, that he who is most afflicted that he is not king, when he receives the regal power, will be the most grateful to you for it. And in case," said he, "you are anyways concerned that things should be left here in the least confusion and disorder, when you quit us, consider whether things are likely to be upon a quieter foot under a new government, than if the old-accustomed government continue. If it be of any concern to you, to draw from hence the greatest number of forces possible, who, do you think, will levy them better, than he who has often made use of them? And if you want money, who, do you reckon, will

Digitized by Google

better raise it, than he who knows all, and is in possession of all? Good Cyrus," said he, "be careful, lest, by rejecting us, you do yourself more mischief than my father has been able to do you." To this effect he spoke.

And Cyrus was extremely pleased to hear him, thinking that he should be able to effect all that he had promised Cyaxares to do; for he remembered to have told him, that he thought he should make the Armenian yet more his friend than before. Upon this, then, he enquired thus of the Armenian:— "And if I comply with you, in these things, tell me," said he, "what force will you send with me; and what money will you contribute to the war?" To this the Armenian said, "Cyrus," said he, "I have no reply to make more plain or more just, than to expose to you, all the forces I have, that, viewing the whole, you may take with you whatever you will, and leave what you will for the guard of the country. In like manner, with respect to our riches, it is just that I should discover to you all that I have, that, being apprized of all, you may carry off what you will of it, and leave what you please of it." Then Cyrus said, "Proceed, then, and show me what forces you have, and tell me what your riches amount to." Here the Armenian replied, "The horse of the Armenians are eight thousand; and their foot forty thousand. Our riches, including the treasure my father left, and reckoned in money, amount to more than three thousand talents." Then Cyrus, without hesitation, said, "Since, therefore," said he, "the Chaldeans, that border upon you, are at war with you, send me half of your forces; and of your treasure, instead of fifty talents, which was the tribute you were to pay, give Cyaxares double that sum, for your defect in the payment. Then lend me," said he, "a hundred more; and I promise you, that, if God enable me, I will, in return of what you lend me, either do you such

Digitized by Google

services as shall be of greater value; or, if I am able, will count you down the money again: if I am not able to do it, I may then appear unable; but unjust I cannot be justly accounted." Then the Armenian said, "I conjure you, by the gods, Cyrus, not to talk in that manner; if you do, you will afflict me; but rather reckon," said he, "that what you leave behind is not less yours than what you carry off with you." "Be it so," said Cyrus; "but, to have your wife again, what money will you give me?" "All that I am able," said he. "What for your children?" "And for these, too," said he, "all that I am able." "Here is, then," said Cyrus, "already as much again as you have. And you, Tygranes," said he, "at what rate would you purchase the regaining of your wife?" Now he happened to be but lately married, and had a very great love for his wife. "Cyrus," said he, "to save her from servitude, I would ransom her at the expence of my life." "Take, then, your own to yourself," said he, "I cannot reckon that she is properly our captive; for you never fled from us. And do you, Armenian, take your wife and children, without paying any thing for them, that they may know they come free to you. And now," said he, "pray, take a supper with us; and when that is over, go your ways wherever you please."—So they staid.

While they were together in the tent, Cyrus enquired thus: "Tell me," said he, "Tygranes, where is that man that used to hunt with us, and that you seemed much to admire?" "Oh!" said he, "and has not this father of mine put him to death!" "And what crime did he discover him committing?" "He said that he corrupted me: and yet, Cyrus, so good and so excellent a man he was, that, when he was going to die, he sent for me, and told me, 'Tygranes,' said he, 'do not bear ill will to your father for putting me to death; for he does it not out of malice, but out of ignorance. And whatever

Digitized by Google

errors men fall into by ignorance, I reckon all such involuntary.' Cyrus, upon this said, "Alas! good man!" The Armenian then spoke thus: "They, Cyrus, who find strangers engaged in familiar commerce with their wives, do not put them to death, and charge them as endeavouring to make their wives more discreet and modest; but they are of opinion, that these men destroy that affection and love their wives have for them, and for this reason they treat them as enemies. And I," said he, "bore hatred and ill will to this man, because I thought he made my son respect and admire him, more than myself." Cyrus then said, "By the gods," said he, "Armenian, I think you faulty, but in such a manner as human nature is often liable to be. And do you, Tygranes, forgive your father." Having at that time discoursed in this manner, and having treated each other with great kindness and friendship, as is natural, upon a reconciliation, they mounted their chariots in company with the women, and drove away, well pleased.

When they came home, one talked of Cyrus's wisdom, another of his patience and resolution, another of his mildness: one spoke of his beauty, and the tallness of his person; and upon that, Tygranes asked his wife, "And do you," said he, "Armenian dame, think Cyrus handsome?" "Truly," said she, "I did not look at him." "At whom, then, did you look?" said Tygranes. "At him who said, that, to save me from servitude, he would ransom me at the expence of his own life." And after some entertainment of this kind, as was usual, they went together to rest.

The next day the Armenians sent presents of friendship to Cyrus, and to the whole army; he sent orders to those of his people, that were to serve in this expedition, to attend on the third day; and he paid down double the sum of money that Cyrus had mentioned. Cyrus, accepting the sum he had

Digitized by Google

expressed, sent the rest back, and asked, "Which of them would command the army, whether his son or himself?" They both spoke together, and the father said, "Either of us that you shall order." The son said, "I assure you, Cyrus, that I will not leave you, though I serve in the army as a porter." Cyrus, laughing at this, said, "What would one give," said he, "that your wife heard you were to carry baggage?" "There's no need," said he, "that she should hear, for I will carry her with me; and, by that means, she may see what I do." "But it is full time," said he, "that you had all things ready to attend us." "Count upon it," said he, "that we will be present at the time, with all things ready that my father affords us." When the soldiers had been all thus entertained, and treated as friends, they went to rest.

The next day Cyrus, taking Tygranes with him, and the best of the Median horse, together with as many of his own friends as he thought proper, marched round, viewing the country, and examining where to build a fortress. When they came to a certain eminence, he asked Tygranes, which were the mountains from whence the Chaldeans made their incursions to plunder the country? Tygranes showed them to him. He then enquired again, "And are these mountains entirely desert?" "No, truly," said he; "but they have always certain scouts there, who give notice to the rest of whatever they observe." "And what do they do," said he, "when they have this notice?" "They all then run to the eminences to defend themselves, every one as fast as he can." Cyrus gave attention to these things; and, viewing around, he observed a great part of the Armenian territory to be desert and uncultivated, by reason of the war. They then retired to the camp; and, taking their supper, went to rest.

The next day, Tygranes, with all things ready

Digitized by Google

provided, joined him; having four thousand horse, ten thousand archers, and as many targeteers with him. Cyrus, at the time they joined him, made a sacrifice. When the victims appeared to portend things fortunate and happy, he summoned the leaders of the Persians and Medes; and, when they were together, he spoke to them to this effect: "Friends, those mountains that we see belong to the Chaldeans; if we can seize them, and have a fortress upon the summit, both Armenians and Chaldeans will be obliged to act with modesty and submission towards us. Our sacrifice promises us success; and, in the execution of a design, nothing favours the inclinations of men so much as dispatch. If we prevent the enemy, and gain the mountains before they assemble, we may either take the summit entirely without a blow, or shall have but a few and weak enemies to deal with. Of all labours, therefore, there is none more easy nor more free from danger, than resolutely to bear the fatigue of dispatch. Haste, then, to arms! and do you, Medes, march upon our left; and of you, Armenians, let half march upon our right, and the other half lead on in front before us; and do you, the horse, follow in the rear, exhorting us, and pushing us up before you; and, if any one acts remissly, do not you suffer him to do so."

Cyrus, having said this, led on, drawing the several companies into single files. The Chaldeans, as soon as they perceived that their heights were going to be attacked, gave their signal to their people, hollowed out to each other, and ran together. Cyrus then gave out orders in this manner: "Men of Persia, they give us the signal of dispatch; if we prevent them in gaining the heights, the efforts of the enemy will be of no significance." The Chaldeans had every one their shield, and two javelins: they are said to be the most warlike people of all in that part of the world. Where they are wanted,

Digitized by Google

they serve for hire; being a warlike people, and poor: for their country is mountainous, and but little of it fertile and rich. As Cyrus's men approached the heights, Tygranes, marching with Cyrus, spoke to him thus: "Cyrus," said he, "do you know that we must presently come to action, and that the Armenians will not stand the attack of the enemy?" Cyrus, telling him that he knew it, made it presently be declared to the Persians, that they should hold themselves in readiness, as being immediately to fall on; and to pursue, as soon as the flying Armenians drew the enemy down so as to be near them. So the Armenians led on: the Chaldeans, who were upon the place, immediately upon the approach of the Armenians, set up a cry; and, according to their custom, ran upon them: the Armenians, according to their custom, did not stand them. When the pursuing Chaldeans saw swordsmen fronting them, and marching up, they some of them came up close, and were presently killed, some fled, and some were taken; and the heights were immediately gained. As soon as Cyrus's men had gained the heights, they saw the habitations of the Chaldeans, and perceived them flying from such of those habitations as were near. Cyrus, as soon as the army was got together, ordered them to dinner. When dinner was over, having got information of the place where the Chaldeans planted their watch, he undertook the building of a fortress, that was very strong, and well supplied with water. He ordered Tygranes to send to his father, and bid him come away with all the carpenters and builders he could get. The messenger went his way to the Armenian. Cyrus applied himself to the building, with all the workmen he had at that time with him.

Meanwhile they brought Cyrus the prisoners, some bound, and some wounded. As soon as he saw them, he ordered those that were bound to be loosed; and, sending for the physicians, he ordered

Digitized by Google

them to take care of the wounded. He then told the Chaldeans, that he was not come either with a desire to destroy them, or with inclination to make war upon them; but with intention to make peace between the Armenians and Chaldeans. "Before we got possession of your mountains, I know you had no desire of peace: your own concerns were in safety; the effects of the Armenians you plundered at your pleasure. But now you see the condition you are in. Those of you, therefore, that have been taken, I dismiss to your homes, and allow you, together with the rest of the Chaldeans, to consult amongst yourselves, whether you incline to make war with us, or to be our friends: if war be your choice, come no more hither without arms, if you are wise: if you think peace for your turn, come without arms. And, if you are friends, it shall be my care, that your affairs shall be established upon the best foot." The Chaldeans having heard these things, after many praises bestowed upon Cyrus, and many assurances of friendship and trust given him, went home.

The Armenian, as soon as he heard what Cyrus had done, and the request he made him, took carpenters with him, and all things else, that he thought necessary, and came to Cyrus with all possible dispatch. As soon as he saw Cyrus, he said to him, "O Cyrus, how few things in futurity are men able to foresee! and how many projects do we undertake! I have endeavoured, upon this occasion, to obtain liberty, and I became more a slave than ever: and, after having been made captive, and thinking our destruction certain, we now again appear to be in a condition of greater safety and security than ever. For these men never ceased doing us all manner of mischief; and I now find them just in the condition I wished. And be it known to you," said he, "Cyrus, that to have so driven the Chaldeans from these heights, I would have given many times the money

Digitized by Google

you received from me; and the services you promised to do us, when you took the money, you have now so fully performed, that we appear to be brought under new obligations to you, which, if we are not very ill men, we shall be ashamed not to discharge; and whatever returns we make, we shall not be found to have done so much as such a benefactor deserves." Thus spoke the Armenian.

The Chaldeans came back, begging of Cyrus to make peace with them. Then Cyrus asked them, "Chaldeans," said he, "is it upon any other consideration that you desire peace, or is it only because you think you shall live with more security in peace, than if you continue the war, since we ourselves told you so?" "We have other considerations," said the Chaldeans. "And what," said he, "if there are still other advantages that may accrue to you by peace?" "We shall be still the more pleased," said they. "Do you think, therefore," said he, "that your being a poor and needy people, is caused by any thing else but by the want of good land?" They agreed with him in this. "Well, then," said Cyrus, "would you willingly be at liberty to cultivate as much of the Armenian territory as you pleased, paying the same for it that the Armenians do?" "Yes," said they, "if we could be secure that we should not be injured." "What say you, then, Armenian?" said he, "would you be willing to have your waste land cultivated upon terms that the farmers of it shall pay you the settled dues?" The Armenian said, he would give a great deal to have it so; for his revenue would be much improved by it. "And you," said he, "Chaldeans, since you have mountains that are fertile, would you consent that the Armenians should use them for pasture, upon condition that they, who make use of them, shall pay what is just and reasonable?" The Chaldeans said, that they would; for it would be a considerable profit to them, without any labour.

Digitized by Google

"And you, Armenian," said he, "would you make use of the pastures of these men, if, by allowing a small profit to the Chaldeans, you might make a much greater profit by it yourselves?" "Readily," said he, "if I thought I might do it securely." "And securely you might do it," said he, "if the summits were in the hands of your friends." The Armenian agreed: "But, truly," said the Chaldeans, "we should not be able to cultivate securely, neither the lands of these people, nor our own, if they are in possession of the summits." "But suppose," said he, "the summits are possessed by such as are friends to you." "Thus, indeed," said they, "things might do very well." "But, indeed," said the Armenian," things will not be well with us, if these men come to be again possessed of the summits; especially when they are fortified." Then Cyrus said, "Thus, therefore, I will do: I will give up the summits to neither of you, but we will keep them ourselves: and, if either of you injure the other, we will take part with the injured." When they heard this, they both of them gave their applause, and said, "Thus only can the peace be firm and stable." Upon this, they gave and received, mutually, assurances of friendship and trust, and stipulated to be both of them free and independent of each other; to intermarry, to cultivate, and feed each other's lands reciprocally, and to be common allies and supporters of each other, against whosoever should injure either of them. Thus were these matters then transacted: and these agreements, then made between the Chaldeans and the possessor of Armenia, subsist still to this day. When the agreements were made, they both presently applied themselves, with zeal, to the building of this fortress, as a common guard; and they jointly furnished all things necessary towards it.

When evening came on, he took both parties to sup with him, as being now friends. As they were at supper, one of the Chaldeans said, "That these

Digitized by Google

things were such as all the rest of them wished for; but that there were some of the Chaldeans who lived by plunder, and who neither knew how to apply themselves to work; nor were able to do it, being accustomed to live by war: for, they were always employed upon plunder, or hired out upon some service; frequently to the king of the Indians, for he is one," said they, "that abounds in gold; and frequently to Astyages." Then Cyrus said, "And why do not they engage themselves to me? for I will give them as much as any other ever gave." They consented, and said, "That there would be a great many that would willingly engage in his service." These things were accordingly agreed.

Cyrus, as soon as he heard that the Chaldeans frequently went to serve under the Indian, and remembering that there were certain persons that came from him to the Medes, to apprize themselves of the Median affairs, and went thence to the enemy, to get an insight likewise into their affairs; he was desirous that the Indian should be informed of what he had done; he, therefore, began a discourse to this effect: "Tell me," said he, "Armenian, and you, Chaldeans, if I should send one of my people to the Indian, would you send with him some of yours, who should direct him in his way, and act in concert with him, to obtain from the Indian the things that I desire; for, I would procure some further addition to my treasure, that I may have what will fully suffice. to discharge the pay of those to whom it becomes due, and to honour and reward such of my fellow-soldiers as are deserving. Upon these accounts I would have plenty of treasure; I think I want it; and to spare you would be a pleasure to me; (for I now reckon you our friends.) But, from the Indian I would gladly accept something, if he would give it me. The messenger, therefore, that I desire you to give guides and assistants to, when he gets thither, shall say thus: 'Prince of India, Cyrus has sent me

Digitized by Google

to you; he says that he is in want of money, expecting another army from Persia; (and in reality I do expect it," said he;) if you send him, therefore, as much as you can conveniently, he assures you that, if God gives a happy issue to his affairs, he will do his endeavours to make you think that you have taken a happy step in gratifying him. This he shall say from me. Do you, on the other side, send him word by your people, that you think it will be of advantage to you. And if we get any thing from him," said he, "we shall have all things in great plenty: if we get nothing, we shall know that we owe him no thanks, and that, as to him, we shall be at liberty to regulate all our affairs as best suits our own interests." Thus said Cyrus, counting upon it, that those of the Armenians and Chaldeans that went upon this message, would say such things of him, as he himself desired all men should say and hear concerning him. Then at the proper time they broke up their company in the tent, and went to rest.

The next day Cyrus sent away his messenger, charging him with all that he had before expressed. The Armenian and the Chaldæans sent with him such men as they judged most proper to act in concert with him, and to relate such things concerning Cyrus as were just and worthy of him.

After this, Cyrus, having supplied the fortress with a sufficient garrison, and with all things necessary, and leaving as governor a certain Mede, one that he judged would be most agreeable to Cyaxares, marched away, taking with him both the army that he came with, and that which he had from the Armenians, as well as the men he had from the Chaldeans, who amounted to about four thousand, and thought themselves better than all the rest.

When he came down into the inhabited country, not one of the Armenians, neither man nor woman, kept within doors, but all went out and met him, being overjoyed at the peace, and running out with

Digitized by Google

whatever they had of greatest value. The Armenian was not at all uneasy at these things, thinking that Cyrus, by means of these honours that were thus paid him by all, would be the better pleased. At last, likewise, the wife of the Armenian met him, having her daughters with her, and her younger son; and, together with other presents, she brought that treasure that Cyrus had before refused. Cyrus, when he saw her, said, "Ye shall not make me such a sort of man as to run up and down the world bestowing my services for money!—Go your ways, woman, and keep all this treasure that you bring, and do not give it to the Armenian again to bury; but equip your son with it, in the handsomest manner, and send him to the wars; and, out of the remainder, supply yourself, your husband, your daughters, and your sons, with every thing, whether for use or ornament, that may make you pass your days in the most agreeable and handsome manner: let it suffice us to lay our bodies under ground, every one of us, when we die." Having said this, he marched on; the Armenian attended upon him, as all the rest likewise did, calling him, aloud, "their benefactor, and an excellent man!" Thus they did till they had conducted him out of their territory. The Armenian sent a greater force with him, being now at peace at home. So Cyrus went away, not only enriched with the treasure he had received, but, by means of his conduct, he had laid up a much greater store, and could supply himself whenever he wanted. They then encamped upon the borders. The next day he sent the army and treasure to Cyaxares, who was at hand, as he had said he would be. He, with Tygranes, and the principal Persians, hunted where they met with game, and diverted themselves.

When he came into Media, he distributed money to his centurions, as much as he thought sufficient for each of them, and that they might have where-

Digitized by Google

withal to reward such of their men under them as they might happen to be particularly pleased with. For he thought that, if every one rendered his part of the army praiseworthy, the whole would be set right to his hands. And if he anywhere observed any thing that might contribute to the beauty of the army, he purchased it, and gave it to the most deserving; reckoning that, whatever his men were possessed of, that was beautiful and noble, it was all an ornament to himself.

When he had made a distribution amongst them out of what he had received, then, in an assembly of centurions, captains, and all others that he particularly esteemed, he spoke to this effect: "Friends, a particular pleasure and satisfaction seems now to attend us, both because we have plenty, and that we are in possession of what enables us to bestow rewards where we desire, and to be rewarded every one according to his merit. But then we ought, by all means, to remember what the things are that have procured us these advantages, and, upon examination, you will find them to be these: our being watchful upon the proper occasions, our being laborious, our dispatch, and our not giving way to the enemy. It is our part, therefore, to continue thus brave men for the future; determining with ourselves, that obedience and resolution, labours and hazard, upon the proper occasions, are things that produce great pleasures and great advantages."

But Cyrus, considering how well the bodies of his men stood with respect to their being able to undergo all military labours, how well their minds were disposed with respect to a contempt of the enemy, how skilful they were in all things fitting, each in their several sorts of arms, and he saw that they were all well disposed with respect to obedience to their commanders; from all this, therefore, he now desired to come to action with the enemy, knowing that, by delay, some part or other of a noble pre-

Digitized by Google

paration comes to change and fail in the commander's hands. And, besides, observing that, from a contention in things wherein men are ambitious to exceed, the soldiers had contracted envy and ill will to each other; he was, for this reason, desirous to lead them, as soon as possible, out, into the enemy's country; knowing that common dangers make friends, and fellow combatants keep in a friendly disposition one towards another; and that, in this circumstance, they neither envy those that are finely armed, nor those that are ambitious of glory; but that even such men themselves rather applaud and esteem others that are like them, accounting them their fellow labourers in the public service. So, in the first place, he completely armed them all, and formed them into the best and most beautiful order that was possible. He then summoned the commanders of ten thousands, the commanders of thousands, the centurions, and captains, (for these were exempt from being reckoned of the number of those that constituted the military rank; and when they were to execute any orders from the commander in chief, or to transmit any particular directions to others; yet thus there was nothing left confused and without rule, but the remainder of the men were preserved in order by the commanders of twelves and sixes.) When the proper persons were assembled, he conducted them about with him, and showed them all that was right and in proper order, and taught them in what consisted the strength of every ally. And when he had raised in these men a desire of doing something, he bid them go to their several distinct bodies, teach them what he had taught themselves, and endeavour to inspire them all with a desire of action, that they might set forward with all possible ardour. And he bid them, in the morning, attend at Cyaxares's door. They then retired, and did as they were ordered.

The next morning, as soon as it was day, the pro-

Digitized by Google

per persons attended at the doors; and Cyrus, entering in with them to Cyaxares, began a discourse to this effect. 'I know, Cyaxares,' said he, 'that what I am going to say is not less your opinion than it is our own, but perhaps you may be unwilling to express it, lest you should seem to put us in mind of marching away, as if the maintaining of us were burdensome and uneasy to you. Therefore, since you are silent, I will speak both for you and for ourselves.—Since we are prepared and ready, it is the opinion of us all, not to delay engaging the enemy till after they have broken in upon your country, and not to sit down, and wait here in the territory of our friends; but to march, with all possible dispatch, into the enemy's country. For, now that we are here in your territory, we are forced, against our wills, to injure you many ways; but, if we march into the enemy's country, we shall, with pleasure, do them mischief. Then it is you that now maintain us, and at a great expence. If we carry the war abroad, we shall be maintained upon the enemy's country. But then, indeed, if our danger was to be greater there than it is here, perhaps the safest course should be taken; but they will be the same men, whether we wait here for them, or march into their own country, and meet them. And we shall be the same, whether we receive them here, as they come upon us, or march up to them and attack them. But we shall have the minds of our men in better condition, and more animated, if we march to the enemy, and seem not to get sight of them against our wills. They will have a much greater terror of us, when they shall hear, that we do not sit at home in dread, and terrified with them; but that, as soon as we perceive them advancing, we march and meet them, in order to close with them as soon as possible; and that we do not wait till our own country is distressed by them; but that we prevent them, and lay their lands waste. And

Digitized by Google

then," said he, "if we strike terror into them, and raise courage in ourselves, I take this to be a very great advantage to us. Thus I reckon the danger to be much less to us, and much greater to the enemy. And my father always says, you yourself say, and all others agree, that battles are decided rather by the courage and spirits of men, than by the strength of their bodies." Thus he spoke, and Cyaxares replied,—"O, Cyrus, and you the rest of the Persians, do not imagine that the maintaining you is burdensome and uneasy to me. But, indeed, the marching into the enemy's country seems now to me to be the better course." "Since, therefore," said Cyrus, "we agree in opinion, let us make all things ready, and, if our sacred rites signify the approbation of the gods, let us depart as soon as possible."

Upon this, giving orders to the soldiers to make all things ready, Cyrus made a sacrifice, first to Regal Jove, then to the other Deities; and prayed, that they would vouchsafe to be conductors to the army, good and gracious assistants and friends, and direct them in all happy courses! He invoked likewise the Heroes, inhabitants and guardians of the land of Media. When he had sacrificed happily, and the whole army was formed upon the borders, meeting with happy auguries, he fell into the enemy's country. As soon as he had passed the borders, he performed propitiatory rites to the earth by libations, to the gods by sacrifice; and implored the favour of the Heroes, inhabitants of Assyria. And having done this, he again sacrificed to Paternal Jove; and whatever other deity occurred to him, he neglected none.

When these things were duly performed, making the foot advance at a small distance forward, they encamped; and making excursions around with the horse, they furnished themselves with great quantities of all kinds of booty. Then, changing their en-

Digitized by Google

quipments; and, being provided with all things necessary in abundance, and laying the country waste, they waited for the enemy. When they were said to be advancing, and not to be at the distance of above two days' march, then Cyrus said,—"Now, Cyaxares, is the time for us to march and meet them, and not to appear, either to the enemy or to our own people, afraid of advancing against them; but let us make it evident, that we do not come to a battle with them against our wills." When Cyaxares had agreed, they advanced towards the enemy, keeping always in order, and marching each day as far as they thought it proper; they took their supper by day-light, and made no fires in their camp by night, but made them before the front of the camp, that, by means of these fires, they might perceive if any people approached in the night, and might not be seen themselves by the approachers; and they frequently made their fires behind the camp, in order to deceive the enemy, so that the enemy's people, that were sent out for intelligence, sometimes fell in with the advanced guards, thinking themselves to be still at a distance from the camp, because the fires were behind.

The Assyrians then, and those that attended them, as soon as the armies were near to each other, threw up an intrenchment round themselves; a thing that the barbarian kings practise to this day, when they encamp, and they do it with ease by means of their multitude of hands; for they know that an army of horse in the night is confused and unwieldy, especially if they are barbarian. For they have their horses tied down to their mangers, and, if they are attacked, it is troublesome in the night to loose the horses, to bridle them, and to put them on their breast-plates and other furniture; and, when they have mounted their horses, it is absolutely impossible to march them through the camp. Upon all these accounts, both they and others of them, throw

Digitized by Google

up an intrenchment round themselves; and they imagine, that their being intrenched puts it in their power, as long as they please, to avoid fighting. And, thus doing, they approached each other.

When they were advanced to about the distance of a parasang, the Assyrians encamped in the manner before expressed, in a post intrenched, but exposed to view; Cyrus, in a place the most concealed that was possible, with villages and rising grounds before him, reckoning that all things hostile that discover themselves on a sudden, are the more terrible to the opposite party. And both parties, that night, posting advanced guards, as was proper, went to rest.

The next day, the Assyrian, and Crœsus, and the other leaders, gave their armies rest in their strong camp. Cyrus and Cyaxares waited in order of battle, as intending to fight, if the enemy advanced. When it appeared that the enemy would not stir out of their intrenchment, nor come to a battle that day, Cyaxares summoned Cyrus, and all the other proper persons to him, and spoke to this effect: "It is my opinion, friends," said he, "that we should march, in the order we are in, up to the intrenchment of these men, and show them, that we are desirous to come to a battle; for, by this means," said he, "if they do not come out to us, our men will act with the more courage against them; and the enemy, observing our boldness, will be the more terrified." This was his opinion: but Cyrus said, "By the gods, Cyaxares, we must, by no means, act in this manner; for if we now discover ourselves, and march as you desire, the enemy will see us advancing towards them, and will be in no manner of fear of us, knowing themselves to be in a situation secure from any danger; and, after having made this march, when we shall retreat, then again, seeing our numbers much inferior to theirs, they will have a contempt for us, and to-morrow will march out with

Digitized by Google

minds more firm and resolute. But now," said he, "that they know we are at hand, without seeing us; be assured they do not contemn us, but are solicitous to know how things stand; and are, I know very well, continually taken up in debating about us. But when they march out, then ought we, at once, to make our appearance, march instantly, and close with them, taking them at the advantage we have heretofore desired." Cyrus having spoken thus, Cyaxares and the rest agreed in opinion with him. Then, having taken their suppers, placed their guards, and made many fires in the front, before those guards, they went to rest.

The next day, early in the morning, Cyrus, with a crown upon his head, made a sacrifice; and ordered the rest of the alike-honoured to attend the holy rites with crowns. When the sacrifice was over, Cyrus called them together, and said, "The gods, friends, as the diviners say, and, as I myself think, do foretel that there will be a battle. They give us victory, and promise us safety by the victims. I ought, perhaps, to be ashamed to direct what sort of men you ought to show yourselves upon such an occasion; for I know you understand those things as well as I do; that you have practised and learnt, and continue to learn, all the same things that I have done; so that you may justly instruct others in them: but if, perhaps, you may not have taken exact notice of them, pray hear:—Those men that we have lately admitted, as our fellow combatants, and have endeavoured to make like ourselves, it is your part to put them in mind for what purposes we are all maintained by Cyaxares; what the things are that we practise, and have invited them to, and wherein they said they would joyfully be our rivals: and put them in mind, likewise, of this, that this day will show what every one deserves; for, in things where men have been late learners, it is no wonder that some of them have need of a monitor. One

Digitized by Google

ought to be contented if they can make themselves good and useful men, upon admonition; then, in doing this, you will make trial of yourselves; for he that, upon such an occasion, is able to make others better men, must be justly conscious of being himself completely good. But he, who bears these things in mind to himself only, and rests satisfied with that, should, in justice, account himself but half complete. The reason why I do not speak to these men myself, but bid you do it, is, because they may endeavour to please you; for you are immediately conversant with them, every one of you in his particular part. And be assured, that while you show yourselves to be in courage and heart, you will teach courage to these men, and to many more, not by word, but by deed." In conclusion, he bid them go, crowned as they were, to their dinners; and when they had performed their libations, to come, crowned, to their ranks.

When these men were gone, he summoned the rear-leaders to him, and spoke to them to this effect: "You, likewise, men of Persia, are become part of the alike-honoured; and have been chosen, as men who appear to be equal, in all other respects, to the bravest, but, by your age, to excel in discretion. You have, therefore, a station assigned you, which is not less honourable than that of the file-leaders; for, being placed in the rear, and observing the brave, and encouraging them, you make them still the better men; and, if any one acts remissly, you do not suffer him to do so. If victory be of advantage to any, it is so to you, both by reason of your age, and the weight of your military habit. If they, therefore, who are before, call out to you, and exhort you to follow, comply with them; and that you may not be outdone by them in this, do you exhort them, in return, to lead with more dispatch to the enemy. Go, then," said he, "and when you have taken your dinners, come, crowned,

Digitized by Google

with the rest, to your ranks." Cyrus's men were thus employed.

The Assyrians, when they had dined, marched boldly out, and formed themselves with a great deal of resolution. The king himself formed them, driving round in his chariot; and he made them an exhortation in this manner: "Men of Assyria, now is the time for you to be brave men, for now is your trial for your lives, for the country where you were born, for the houses were you were bred, for your wives and children, and for all things valuable that you possess. If you conquer, you will remain masters of all these as before; if you are defeated, be assured you give them all up to the enemy. Therefore, as you value victory, stand firm, and fight; for it is folly for those that desire conquest to turn the blind, unarmed, and handless parts of their bodies to the enemy, by flight. He is a fool, who, for love of life, should attempt flying, when he knows that the conquerors are safe, and that runaways meet their death more certainly than they who stand their ground. And he is a fool, who, out of love to his money, submits to a defeat; for, who is there that does not know that conquerors save all that belongs to themselves, and acquire, besides, all that belongs to the defeated enemy? but, they who are defeated, throw both themselves and all that belongs to them away." Thus was the Assyrian employed.

But Cyaxares, sending to Cyrus, told him, that now was the opportunity of leading to the enemy; "For," said he, "if there are yet but few that are got out of the intrenchment, by the time we arrive there will be great numbers of them. Therefore, let us not wait till they are more numerous than ourselves; but let us march, whilst we think we may yet easily master them." Cyrus replied, "Unless those, Cyaxares, that we shall defeat, amount to above half the number of the enemy, be

Digitized by Google

assured they will say that we were afraid of their numbers, and therefore attacked but a few of them. They will not take themselves to be defeated; and it will be necessary for you to come to another battle, when, perhaps, they will contrive better than they do now, that they give themselves up to us, to parcel out and engage as many of them as we please." The messengers, having heard this, went their way.

Upon this came Chrysantas the Persian, and others of the alike-honoured, bringing with them certain deserters. Cyrus, as usual, required from these deserters an account of the enemy. They told him, that they were already marching out in arms; that the king was come out, and was forming them; and that, continually, as they marched out, he made them many warm and vigorous exhortations, as the hearers, they said, reported. Here Chrysantas spoke. "Cyrus," said he, "what, therefore, if you should call the soldiers together, while you are yet at liberty to make them an exhortation, in order to make them braver and better men?" Then Cyrus said, "O, Chrysantas, let not the exhortations of the Assyrians disturb you; for, no exhortation whatever, though ever so noble, can, at the instant, make the hearers brave, if they were not so before; nor can it make them skilful at the bow, unless they have before practised it; nor skilful at the javelin, nor horsemen; nor can it give them bodies capable of labour, unless they have been before inured to it." Chrysantas then said, "But it is enough, if you can make their minds better by your exhortation." "And can a word," said Cyrus, "spoken at the instant, inspire the minds of the hearers with a sense of shame, or hinder them from doing things mean and base? Can it influence them effectually to undergo all labours, and run all hazards, to gain praise? Can it establish this sentiment firmly in their minds, that to die fighting, is

Digitized by Google

rather to be chosen, than to be saved by flying? And, if such sentiments," said he, "are to be instilled into men, and to be made lasting, ought there not, in the first place, to be such laws established, whereby a life with honour and liberty should be provided for the brave? and such a course of life, traced out and laid before the vicious, as should be abject and painful, and not worth living out? Then there ought to be teachers and governors in these affairs, who should direct men right, should teach and accustom them to practise these things, till they come to determine with themselves, that the brave and the renowned are, in reality, the happiest of all; and to judge, that the vicious and the infamous are of all the most miserable; for, thus ought those to stand affected, who are to make their institution and discipline overrule their fear of the enemy. But if, just at the time that men are marching in arms to the enemy, when many are hurried out of all their former learning and knowledge, it were in any one's power, by putting together a set form of words, to make men in the instant soldiers, then were it the easiest thing in the world, both to learn and to teach the greatest virtue that belongs to men. Nor could I be secure that the men we now have, and that have been exercised under us, would remain firm, unless I saw you here present with them, who will be examples to them in their behaviour, and will be able to remind them, if they are at a loss in any thing. I should very much wonder," said he, "Chrysantas, if a discourse, ever so finely spoken, should be able to teach bravery to men wholly undisciplined in virtue, any more than a song, well sung, could teach music to such as were wholly uninstructed in it." In this manner they discoursed.

And Cyaxares sent word again to Cyrus, that he was much in the wrong to spend time, and not march immediately to the enemy. Cyrus made answer to the messengers, "Let him be assured," said he,

Digitized by Google

" that there are not yet come out so many of them as there ought to be; and tell him this, openly, before all: but, since it is his opinion, I will lead out this instant." Having said this, and having made his supplications to the gods, he led the army out. As soon as he began to put forward with more dispatch, he led the way, and they followed; and they did it in a very orderly manner, because they understood how to march in order, and had been exercised in it; they did it with vigour and resolution, by means of their emulation to each other, by having inured their bodies to labour, and having all their officers at the head of them; and they did it with pleasure, because they were wise; for they knew, and had long since learned, that it was their safest and easiest course, to close with the enemy, especially when consisting of archers, of men armed with javelins, and of horse. While they were yet out of reach of the enemy's weapons, Cyrus gave out the word, which was this, " Jove, our assistant and leader." When the word came about to him again, he began the usual hymn to the youths of Jove, Castor, and Pollux. They all, with great devotion, accompanied him, with a loud voice; for, in such a circumstance, they who fear the deities, are the less in fear of men. When the hymn was over, the alike-honoured, marching with alacrity and perfect good discipline, and, at the same time, looking round at each other, calling by their names those that were on each hand of them, and those that were the next behind them, and frequently crying out, " Come on, friends! come on, brave men!"— they exhorted each other to follow: they that were behind, hearing this, exhorted the foremost, in return, to lead on with vigour and resolution. And Cyrus had an army full of spirit and of ardour, in the pursuit of honour; full of vigour, boldness, mutual exhortation, discretion, and obedience, which I think the most terrible to an enemy.

Digitized by Google

Those of the Ayssrians who fought from their chariots, in front, before the rest, as soon as the Persian body was near, and ready to close in with them, mounted their chariots, and retreated to their own body. Their archers, and their men armed with the javelin, and their slingers, made the discharge of their weapons a good while before they could reach their enemy. As soon as the Persians came up upon these weapons, that had been thus discharged, Cyrus cried aloud, "Now, my brave men, let somebody distinguish himself, and march quicker on, and transmit this order to the rest." They accordingly transmitted it; and some, out of zeal and ardour, and out of desire to close with the enemy, began to run. The whole phalanx followed, running; Cyrus himself, forgetting his slower pace, led them on running, and cried out, at the same time, "Who follows? who is brave? who will first prostrate his man?" They, hearing this, cried out, in the same manner; and, as he first gave it out, so it ran through them all, "Who will follow? who is brave?" In this disposition did the Persians close with the enemy.

The enemy were no longer able to stand them, but turned, and fled to the intrenchment; the Persians, following up to the entrances of the intrenchment, laid many of them on the ground, as they were pressing on upon each other, and, leaping in after those that fell into the ditch, they killed them, both men and horses, promiscuously; for some of the chariots of the enemy were forced on, in their flight, and fell in amongst the rest. The Median horse, observing these things, charged the enemy's horse; and they gave way before them. Then followed a pursuit of both horses and men, and a mighty slaughter of both. They who were within the Assyrian intrenchment, and were posted at the top of it, by reason of the dreadful spectacle before them, and of their terror, had neither ability nor skill to do execution, with their arrows and

Digitized by Google

javelins, upon those that were making destruction of their people. And learning, presently after, that some of the Persians had cut their way through, at the entrances of the intrenchment, they turned away, and fled from the top of it. The Assyrian women, and those of their allies, some of them, such as had children, and some that were of the younger sort, seeing that they already began to fly in the camp, set up a clamour, and run up and down, in consternation, rending their clothes, and tearing themselves, and begging of every one they met, not to fly and abandon them, but to stand by their children, by them, and by each other. Here the princes themselves, with those they chiefly confided in, standing at the entrances of the intrenchment, and mounting to the top of it, fought themselves, and encouraged the rest. As soon as Cyrus knew how things stood, being afraid lest, being but few, they should be but ill treated by the great multitude of the enemy, if they forced their way in, he gave out orders to retreat out of the reach of the enemy's weapons, and required their obedience in so doing. Here one might distinguish the alike-honoured, and such as were formed to due discipline; for they instantly obeyed, and transmitted the orders to the rest. When they were out of the reach of the enemy's weapons, they stood, in their several stations, much more regularly than a set of dancers; every one knowing, with great exactness, where he was to be.

Digitized by Google

CYROPÆDIA;

OR, THE

INSTITUTION OF CYRUS.

BOOK IV.

CYRUS, waiting there for some considerable time with the army, and having made it appear that they were ready to fight, if any would come out against them, since nobody stirred, led off at the distance he thought proper, and they encamped.

Then, having placed his guards, and sent out his scouts, he placed himself in the midst, and calling his soldiers together, he spoke to this effect: "Men of Persia, I do, in the first place, give all possible praise to the gods; I believe you all do the same: for we have obtained conquest and safety. Out of what we possess, therefore, it is our duty to make the gods our presents of gratitude and thanks, in return of these things. After this, I give praise to you all; for the action that is passed has been performed by you all. When I have made my enquiry from the proper persons, what each man deserves, I will endeavour, both in word and in deed, to pay every man his due. With respect to Chrysantas, indeed, who was the nearest centurion to me, I need not enquire of others, but I know myself how well he behaved; for he performed all those other acts that

Digitized by Google

I believed you all did, and when I gave out orders to retreat, calling upon him particularly by name, he, who had his sword held up to give his enemy a stroke, obeyed me in the instant, and, forbearing to do what he was about, performed my command. For he retreated himself, and transmitted the order, with the greatest dispatch, to others; so that he got his century out of weapon's cast before the enemy perceived that we were retreating, before they extended their bows, or threw their javelins; so that he was himself unhurt, and kept his men unhurt by this obedience. But there are others," said he, "that I see wounded; and when I have examined at what time it was that they were wounded, I will then declare my opinion concerning them. Chrysantas I now reward with the command of a thousand, as a man vigorous in action, prudent, and able both to obey and command. And when God shall grant us any farther advantage, neither will I then forget him. And I am desirous too," said he, "to give you all an advice: that you would never lose the remembrance and the consideration of what you now see by this battle; that you may always have it settled in your minds, whether it is flight, or virtue rather, that preserves the lives of men; whether they who readily engage in action come off the better, or they who are backward and unwilling; and that you may judge how great a pleasure it is that victory affords. You may now the better make a judgment of these things, having had experience of them, and the affair having been so lately transacted. And," said he, "by having the consideration of these things always present in your minds, you will become the better men. Now, like discreet and worthy men, favoured of heaven, take your suppers, make your libations to the gods, begin your hymn, and be observant of the word of command.

This said, he mounted on his horse and rode off. Then coming to Cyaxares, and having congratulated

Digitized by Google

with him, as was proper, having seen how things stood there, and having enquired whether Cyaxares had any further need of him, he rode back to his own army. Cyrus's men, having taken their suppers and placed their guards, as was proper, went to rest.

The Assyrians, upon their prince being killed, and, together with him, all the bravest of their men, were all in a desponding condition, and many of them fled from the camp in the night. Upon seeing these things, Crœsus, and their other allies, lost all courage, for they were surrounded with difficulties on all sides. And what chiefly sunk the courage of them all, was, that the principal nation of all that were in the army, were entirely confounded in their opinions. So they quitted the camp, and went off in the night.

As soon as it was day, and that the camp appeared to be entirely abandoned, Cyrus immediately made the Persians march first into it. Great numbers of sheep and oxen had been left there by the enemy; and many waggons-full of abundance of valuable things. After this, the Medes, with Cyaxares, marched in, and there took their dinners. When they had dined, Cyrus called his centurions together, and spoke to this effect: "Friends, how many valuable things have we, in my opinion, perfectly thrown away, when the gods had delivered them into our hands! for you yourselves see that the enemy are flying for fear of us. And how can any body think that they who, when possessed of an intrenched post, quitted it and fled, can stand, and look us in the face upon fair ground? They who did not stand before they had made trial of us, how should such men stand after they are beaten, and have been so ill treated by us? How should the worst of those men incline to fight us, of whom the best have been destroyed?" Upon this, somebody said,—"Why don't we immediately pursue, when the

Digitized by Google

advantages we have are so evident?" Cyrus replied, —"Why, because we want horse. And the best of the enemy, and such as it is most for our purpose to take or to destroy, are retiring on horseback. And those that, with the help of the gods, we are able to put to flight, we are not able to take in the pursuit." "Why then," said they, "do not you go to Cyaxares, and tell him these things?" To this he said, "Come, therefore, all of you, along with me; that he may see we are all of us of this opinion." Upon this they all followed him, and said what they thought was proper concerning the things they desired.

Cyaxares, partly out of a sort of envy, because they had begun the discourse upon the subject, and partly, perhaps, because he thought it best for him not to hazard another battle, (for he was indulging himself in pleasure, and observed that many of the Medes were doing the same thing) spoke, therefore, in this manner: "I am convinced, Cyrus, by the testimony both of my eyes and ears, that you Persians, of all mankind, study the most how to keep yourselves from being impotent and insatiable in any kind of pleasure: but my opinion is, that it is by much the most advantageous thing to be master of one's self in the greatest pleasure of all. And what is there that gives men greater pleasure than the good fortune that has now befallen us? Therefore, since we have that good fortune, if we take care to preserve it with discretion and temper, perhaps we may, without hazard, grow old in happiness. But if we use it greedily and insatiably, and endeavour to pursue one piece of good fortune after another, take care lest we suffer the same fate that they say many people do at sea, who, by means of their having been once fortunate, will never cease repeating their voyages till they are lost. And as they say many do, who, having obtained one victory, and aiming at more, have lost the first. If, indeed,

Digitized by Google

the enemy, who are fled, were fewer than we, perhaps we might pursue those with safety; but, consider what part of them it was that our whole number fought and conquered, the rest were out of the action, and, unless we force them to fight, are going their ways, meanly and ignorantly, without knowing their own strength or ours. If they shall find that they are not less in danger in retreating, than they are in standing us, how can it happen otherwise, than that we shall force them, even against their wills, to be brave? For be assured, that you are not more desirous to seize their wives and children, than they are to preserve them. And consider even swine, that they, though many in number, betake themselves to flight, together with their young, as soon as they are discovered; but, if any man pursue one of their little ones, the sow, though she be single, does not continue her flight, but attacks the pursuer that attempts to take it. Now these men, upon this late occasion, had shut themselves up in an intrenchment, and let themselves be parcelled out by us in such a manner, as put it into our power to engage as many of them as we pleased. But if we march up to them in an open country, and they shall have learnt to divide and extend themselves, so that part of them shall oppose us in front, part upon one wing, and part upon another, and some in our rear; do you then take care lest we, every one of us, stand in need of many more hands and arms than we have. Besides," said he, "now, that I observe the Medes to be enjoying themselves, I should be very unwilling to rouse them from their pleasures, and compel them to throw themselves into danger."

Then Cyrus, in reply, said,—"You shall compel no one: do but allow those to follow me that are willing to do it. Perhaps we may come back, and bring you, and every one of these friends of yours, what you will all be pleased with. We will not

Digitized by Google

pursue the main body of the enemy; for how should we be able to lay our hands on them? But if we meet with any thing straggling from the rest of the army, or left behind, we will come and bring it you. Consider then," said he, "that, when you wanted us, we came a long journey, to do you pleasure; it were but just, therefore, that you should gratify us in return, that we may go home possessed of something, and not all of us have our eye to your treasure." Here Cyaxares said, "If any one, indeed, would attend you of his own accord, I should think myself obliged to you." "Send with me then one of these credible persons, who shall tell your message." "Come," said he, "take which of them you please." And there happened to be that person present who had called himself his relation, and that he had kissed; Cyrus, therefore, immediately said, "I am contented with this man." "Let him, therefore," said he, "attend you; and do you," said he, "declare, that any one, who is willing, may go with Cyrus." So, taking this man with him, he went out. As soon as he came out, Cyrus presently said to him, "Now you will make it appear whether you spoke truth, when you said, you were delighted with the sight of me." "When you propose this matter," said the Mede, "I will not abandon you." "And will not you," said Cyrus, "yourself espouse it, and propose it to others?" Then, with an oath, "By Jove," said he, "I will; and that till I make you delighted with the sight of me." Then did this messenger of Cyaxares discharge himself with zeal, in all respects, by declaring his message to the Medes, and added this of himself: "That, for his part, he would not desert this best and most excellent of men; and, what was above all, this man who derived his original from the gods!"

While Cyrus was transacting these affairs, there came messengers from the Hyrcanians, as if by divine appointment. The Hyrcanians are borderers

Digitized by Google

upon the Assyrians; they are no great nation, and therefore subject to the Assyrians; they, at that time, it seems, consisted of horse, and do so at this day: the Assyrians, therefore, used them as the Lacedæmonians do the people of Sciros, not sparing them in fatigues and dangers; and they, at that time, had commanded them to make the rear-guard, being a thousand horse, that in case any danger pressed upon them in the rear, these men might have it fall upon them before it reached themselves. The Hyrcanians, being to march behind all, had their waggons and domestics in the rear. For most of the inhabitants of Asia are attended in their military expeditions by those that they live with at home. And the Hyrcanians at that time attended the service in that manner. Considering, therefore, with themselves what they suffered under the Assyrians; that their prince was now dead, and they beaten; that the army was now under great terror; that their allies were in a desponding condition, and were quitting them; upon these considerations, this appeared to them to be a noble opportunity to revolt, if Cyrus's men would but fall upon the enemy in conjunction with them. Accordingly, they sent messengers to Cyrus, for, since the battle, his fame was grown to the greatest height.

The men that were sent told Cyrus, "That they had a just hatred to the Assyrians; that, if he would now march up to them, they themselves would be his assistants, and lead him the way." They gave him likewise accounts of the circumstances of the enemy, as men who were extremely desirous to animate him to this expedition. Then Cyrus asked them,—"Do you think," said he, "that we can get up with them before they get into their fortresses? For," said he, "we take it to be a very great misfortune, that they fled without our knowledge." This he said with intention to raise in them the greatest confidence possible in himself and his peo-

Digitized by Google

ple. They replied, "That if he and his men, setting out early in the morning, marched with expedition, they might come up with them, even the next day; for, by reason of their multitude, and the number of their carriages, they marched very slowly. And, besides," said they, "having had no rest the night before, they marched but a little way, and are now encamped." Then Cyrus said, "Have you any pledge, therefore, to give us of the truth of what you say?" "We will go," said they, "this instant, and bring you hostages to-night. Do you only give us the security of your taking the gods to witness on your part, and give us your right hand, that what we ourselves thus receive from you, we may carry to the rest of our people." Upon this he gave them the testimonials of his faith, that "If they accomplished what they said, he would treat them as faithful men and friends; and that they should not be of less consideration with him than the Persians or Medes." And at this day it may be observed, that the Hyrcanians are employed in considerable trusts, and are possessed of governments, as those of the Persians and Medes are, that appear worthy of them.

When they had supped, he led out the army, while it was yet day, and he ordered the Hyrcanians to stay, that they might go with him. All the Persians, as one may naturally suppose, were immediately out. Tygranes, likewise, with his army, was the same. But, of the Medes, some marched out, because, while they were yet boys, they had been friends to Cyrus while a boy; some because, by conversing with him in his huntings, they were much taken with his temper and manners; some out of gratitude, because they thought him the man who had relieved them when they were under very great terror; some, by his appearing already to be a man of great dignity and worth, had hopes that he would still grow farther so, as to be prodigiously fortunate and great; some, because they were desirous to return him that

Digitized by Google

friendship and service, that he had done them while he lived among the Medes; for, out of his good nature, he had performed several services with his grandfather for many of them: but most part of them, when they saw the Hyrcanians, and that it was discoursed abroad that they were to lead the way to mighty advantages, marched out, in order to get something. So almost all the Medes marched, except those that were in the tent with Cyaxares. These remained, and the men that were under their command. The rest hastened out with zeal and pleasure, as not going by constraint, but voluntarily, and with design to oblige. When they were out, he went to the Medes. He first commended them, and prayed, "That the gods, being propitious both to them, to himself, and to his people, would vouchsafe to conduct them! and then that he himself might be enabled to make them grateful returns of this their zeal!" In the last place, he told them, that the foot should lead the way, and bid them follow with their horse; and, wherever they rested, or suspended their march, he ordered them to send off some people to him, that they might be informed of what was proper upon every occasion. Upon this, he ordered the Hyrcanians to lead the way: and they asked him this question,—"Why," said they, "don't you stay till we bring our hostages, that you may march with the pledges of our fidelity in your hands?" He is said to have replied thus: "Why," said he, "I consider that we have all of us pledges of your fidelity in our own hearts and hands; for we take ourselves to be so well provided, that, if you tell us truth, we are in a condition to do you service; and if you deceive us, we reckon that we stand upon such a foot as not to be ourselves in your power, but rather, if the gods so please, that you will be in ours. Since then," said he, "O, Hyrcanians! you say that your people march the hindermost, as soon as you see them, signify to us that

Digitized by Google

they are your people, that we may spare them." The Hyrcanians, hearing these things, led the way as he ordered. They admired his firmness of mind, and were no longer in fear either of Assyrians, the Lydians, or their allies; but only, lest Cyrus should be convinced that, whether they were present or absent, they were of little significance.

While they were upon the march, and night was come on, a clear light from heaven is said to have appeared to Cyrus and to the army; so that all were seized with a shivering at the divine appearance, but inspired with boldness against the enemy. As they marched without incumbrance and with dispatch, they probably rid abundance of ground, and at the dawn of day they were near the Hyrcanian army. As soon as the messengers discovered them, they told Cyrus that these were their people: they said, "They knew them by their being the hindermost, and by their multitude of fires." Upon this, he sent one of the two messengers to them, ordering him to tell them, "If they were friends, immediately to meet him, holding out their right hands." He sent some of his own people with them, and bid them tell the Hyrcanians, "That, when he and his people saw them advancing, they themselves would do the same thing." So one of the messengers staid with Cyrus, the other rode off to the Hyrcanians. While Cyrus was observing what the Hyrcanians would do, he made the army halt; and the chief of the Medes and Tygranes rode up to him, and asked him what they were to do. He told them thus: "This body, that is near us, is that of the Hyrcanians. One of their messengers is going to them, and some of our people with him, to tell them, if they are friends, to meet us with their right hands held out; therefore, if they come in this manner, do you, every one, in your several stations, receive them with your right hands as they come, and encourage them. If they take to their arms, or at-

Digitized by Google

tempt to fly: do you endeavour to let none of these that we first meet with escape." He gave these orders; and the Hyrcanians, having heard the report of the messengers, were in great joy, and mounting their horses at a leap, came up, as was told them, with their right hands extended. The Medes and Persians, on their side, received them with their right hands, and encouraged them. Upon this, Cyrus said, "Hyrcanians, we now trust to you. It is your part to be in the same disposition towards us: but, in the first place," said he, "tell us this—how far from hence is the place where the enemy's commanders are, and their main body?" They said, in answer, "That it was little more than a parasang."

Upon this occasion, Cyrus said, "Come on, then," said he, "men of Persia! Medes! and you, Hyrcanians! for to you I now speak, as to confederates and sharers with us in all things. You ought now all to be assured, that we are in such a circumstance as must bring upon us the greatest severities of fortune, if we act in it remissly and faintly; for the enemy know for what purposes we come. If we march to the enemy with vigour and spirit, and charge home, you will see them, like slaves that have run away and are discovered, some supplicating for mercy, some flying, and some without presence of mind enough to do either; for, beaten, as they are, they will see us come upon them, and thinking of our coming, will be surprised, without order, and without being prepared to fight. If, therefore, we desire, henceforward, to take our meals, to pass our nights, and to spend the rest of our lives with pleasure, do not let us give them leisure to contrive or execute any thing that may be for their own service; nor to know so much as that we are men; but let them fancy that all is shields, swords, cutlasses, and blows that fall upon them. And do you, Hyrcanians," said he, "extending yourselves in front, before us, march first, that, by the appearance of your arms,

Digitized by Google

we may keep concealed as long as possible. When I get up with the enemy's army, do you, each of you, leave with me a troop of horse, that I may make use of them, in case of need, remaining in the camp. Do you, commanders, and your men of most years, if you are wise, march together in close order, lest meeting, perhaps, with a close body, you be repulsed. Send out your younger men to pursue; let these dispatch the enemy, for it is our safest course, at this time, to leave as few of the enemy alive as we can. But lest, what has happened to many victors, a turn of fortune befal us, we ought strictly to guard against turning to plunder; and as he that does it can no longer be reckoned a man, but a mere bearer of baggage, so any one, that will, is free to use him as a slave. You ought to be sensible, that there is nothing more gainful than victory, for the victor sweeps all away with him, both men, women, and treasure, together with the whole country. Keep your eye, therefore, intent only upon the preservation of victory, for even the plunderer himself is comprehended in it. And remember this too, in your pursuit, that you return again to me while it is yet day; for, after it is dark, we will give admittance to none."

Having said this, he dismissed them, every one to his own century, and ordered them withal to go their ways, and signify these things, every one to his chiefs of ten; (for the chiefs of tens were all in front, so as to be able to hear;) and he bid them order the chiefs of tens to give these directions, each to his own ten. Upon this, the Hyrcanians led the way; he himself marched with the Persians in the centre, and formed the horse, as usual, upon each wing. As soon as his army appeared, some of the enemy were astonished at the sight; some already discovered what it was; some told it about; some set up a clamour; some loosed their horses; some packed up their effects; some threw the arms from

Digitized by Google

off the beasts of burden, and some armed themselves; some mounted their horses; some bridled them; some helped the women up upon the waggons; some laid hold of what they had of greatest valüe, to save it; and some were found burying such kind of things; but most of them betook themselves to flight. It must needs be thought that they were taken up with these things, and many more of various kinds, excepting only that nobody fought, but that they were destroyed without making any opposition. Crœsus, the king of the Lydians, it being the summer season, had sent away his women in the night, in chariots, before, that they might travel with the more ease in the cool, and he himself with his horse had followed after. The Phrygian, they say, who was prince of that Phrygia that lies upon the Hellespont, did the same. But as soon as they perceived the runaways, and that some of them came up with them, having got information of what had happened, they fled in the utmost haste. The kings of the Cappadocians, and of the Arabians, that were at hand, and without their corselets, thinking themselves secure, the Hyrcanians killed. But the greatest number of those that died upon this occasion were Assyrians and Arabs; for, being in their own country, they were most remiss in marching off. The Medes and Hyrcanians performed such things in the pursuit as are usual for men that have gained the victory. But Cyrus ordered the horse, that had been left with him, to ride round the camp, and kill all such as they saw going off with their arms; and, to those that remained, he ordered it to be proclaimed, "That all soldiers of the enemy whatever, whether horsemen, targeteers, or archers, should bring their arms, all bound up together, away to him, and leave their horses at their tents; and that if any refused to do thus, he should immediately lose his head." Some, with their swords drawn, stood round in order; they who had arms brought

Digitized by Google

them away, and threw them down upon the place that he appointed them; and they that he ordered for that service burnt them.

But Cyrus then reflecting, that they were come without either meat or drink, and that, without these, it was impossible to carry on a war, or do any thing else; considering, therefore, how he might be supplied with these things the soonest, and in the best manner, it came into his mind, that it was absolutely necessary for all men, that were engaged in military service, to have some certain person to take care of the tent, and who should provide all things necessary for the soldiers when they came in. He judged, therefore, that of all people in the camp, these were the most likely to be left behind, because of their being employed in packing up the baggage; so he ordered proclamation to be made, that all the officers of this kind should come to him, and, where there was no such officer, that the oldest man of that tent should attend: he denounced all manner of severity to him that should disobey. But they all paid obedience instantly, having seen their masters do it before them. When they were present, he commanded all such as had necessaries in their tents for two months and upwards to sit down. When he had observed these, he again commanded all such as were provided for one month to do the same. Upon this almost all of them sat. When he found this, he spoke to them thus: "Come then, good people, all those of you who would avoid evil, and desire to obtain any good from us, do you, with readiness and zeal, take care that in each tent there be prepared double the portion of meat and drink that you used to provide, each day, for your masters and their domestics; and have all things else ready that will contribute to furnish out a handsome entertainment; taking it for granted, that the party conquering will be presently with you, and will require to have all things necessary provided for them

Digitized by Google

in plenty. Know, therefore, that it may be of service to you to receive these men in the most unexceptionable manner." Having heard these things, they executed the orders with the greatest diligence. And, having called the centurions together, he spoke to this effect:

"We know, friends, that it is now in our power to take our dinners first, before our allies, who are absent, and to apply the most exquisite meats and drinks to our own use; but, in my opinion, this dinner will not do us so much service as our making it appear, that we are careful of our allies. Nor will this good entertainment add more to our own strength, than we shall gain by making our confederates zealous and hearty in our interest. If we appear so negligent of those that are pursuing and destroying our enemies, and fighting, in case there are any that oppose them, that they find we have dined before we know what they are doing; how can it happen otherwise, than that we shall appear vile in their sight, and lose our strength by losing our allies? But to be careful that they who are engaged in fatigues and dangers may have all necessaries ready for them when they come in, this, I say, is the treat that should more delight you than the present gratification of your bellies. And consider," said he, "that if we were to act without any respect to our friends, yet to cram with meat and drink is not at all proper with regard to ourselves; for we have a great many enemies in the camp, loose and unconfined; it is our business to be upon our guard against them, and to keep a guard upon them, that we may have people to do all necessary things for us. Our horse are absent, and give us cause to be in some concern and doubt where they are, whether they are to come back to us, or whether they are to stay. So that, in my opinion, friends, the meat and drink, the most for our purpose, at present, ought to be, what one can imagine

Digitized by Google

of most use to preserve us from being drowsy and remiss. Yet farther, I know that there are great treasures in the camp; and I am not ignorant that it is in our power to appropriate to ourselves what we please of these things, that belong in common to all that were jointly concerned with us in taking them: but I am of opinion, that our taking them to ourselves cannot be a greater gain to us, than by making ourselves appear to these men to be just and honest, to purchase by that means still a greater share in their affection than we have yet obtained. And I am of opinion," said he, "to give up the distribution of these treasures to the Medes, Hyrcanians, and Tygranes, when they come; and even to reckon it an advantage, if they allot us the smallest share; for, by means of their profit, they will, with the more pleasure, remain with us. And the taking a present advantage may, indeed, afford us short-lived riches, but they that give up this, acquire by it, in return, those things from whence riches flow. And, in my opinion, this may procure much more lasting riches to us and ours. It was for this end, I think, that we practised at home that continence and command over ourselves in the concerns of the belly, and in matters of unseasonable profit, that we might be able, when occasion served, to make use of these qualities for our advantage. And upon what greater occasion than the present one, we can show the virtue of our institution, I do not see."

Thus he spoke, and Hystaspes, a Persian, and one of the alike-honoured, spoke in favour of his opinion in this manner: "It were, indeed, a sad case, Cyrus, if, in hunting, we can continually master ourselves, and abstain from food, in order to get possession of some beast, and, perhaps, of very little value; and, when we are in pursuit of all that is valuable in the world, we should not think it very unbecoming us, to suffer ourselves to be stopped in

Digitized by Google

our course by any of those things, that have the command, indeed, of mean men, but are inferior and subservient to the deserving." Thus spoke Hystaspes in support of Cyrus's opinion; the rest approved it. Then Cyrus said, "Well then, since we agree in these matters, do you send out five men of each company, and such as are the most diligent and careful, let these march round, and those whom they find employed in providing the necessaries let them commend; those whom they find negligent, let them chastise, without sparing them, any more than if they themselves were their masters." These men executed their orders.

By this time some of the Medes drove up several waggons, that had set out before from the camp, and that they had taken and turned back, loaden with things that the army was in want of. Some of them brought chariots that they had taken, some full of the most considerable women, who were, some of them, of the legitimate sort, others of them courtezans, that were conveyed up and down, by these people, upon the account of their beauty; for, to this day, all the inhabitants of Asia, in time of war, attend the service accompanied with what they value the most; and say that they fight the better when the things that are most dear to them are present. For, they say, that they must of necessity defend these with zeal and ardour. Perhaps, indeed, it is so; but perhaps they do it only to indulge their pleasure.

Cyrus, observing the things that were performed by the Medes and Hyrcanians, was almost angry with himself and with those that were with him; for the others seemed to outshine them at that time, and to be continually making some advantage or other, while they themselves stood quiet in an idle station. For they that brought the prizes, after showing them to Cyrus, rode off again, in pursuit of others; for they said that they were ordered so to do by their

Digitized by Google

commanders. Cyrus, though nettled at this, yet ordered the things away to a particular station; then calling the centurions again together, and standing in a place where what he said might be heard, he spoke thus: "I believe, friends, we are all convinced, that if we had had the taking of these things that have just now appeared before us, all the Persians, in general, would have been great gainers, and we, probably, the greatest, who had been personally concerned in the action. But how we, who are not able of ourselves to acquire these things, can possibly get them into our possession, I do not yet see, unless the Persians procure a body of horse of their own. For you observe," said he, "that we Persians are possessed of arms that are proper to repel enemies that will close with us; but when they are once repulsed, what horsemen, archers, targeteers, or dartsmen, while we are without horse, can we possibly take or destroy in their flight? Who would fear to annoy us, whether archers, dartsmen, or horse, when they know very well that there is no more danger of receiving any hurt from us, than from trees that grow fixed in the ground? If these things are thus, is it not plain, that the horsemen, now with us, reckon all things that fall into our hands not less theirs than ours? Nay, perhaps, even more. Upon this foot, therefore, do things now necessarily stand. But if we get a body of horse, not inferior to themselves, is it not evident to you all, that we shall be able, without them, to perform the some things against the enemy that we now do with them? and that we shall have them in a more humble disposition towards us? for, when they have a mind either to go or stay, it will be of less concern to us, if we are, of ourselves, sufficient without them. But be this as it will, yet no one, I believe, will be of a contrary opinion to me in this, that for the Persians to have a body of horse of their own, is not a matter that is entirely indifferent. But then,

Digitized by Google

perhaps, you are considering how this can be brought about. Supposing then that we incline to constitute a body of horse, let us examine what it is we have, and what it is we want. Here are horses, in great number, that are left in the camp, and there are bridles to manage them, and all other things that are proper for the use of such as keep horses; and we have likewise the things that are proper for the use of a horseman himself; corselets for the defence of his body, and lances, that we may either use in throwing or at hand. What then remains? It is plain we must have men; and these we have more certainly than any thing, for there is nothing so much belongs to us as we do to ourselves. But, perhaps, somebody will say, that we do not understand it: nor, by Jove, have any of those who understand it now attained the skill before they learned it. But they learned it, somebody may say, when they were boys. And have boys the better faculty to learn things that are told them, or shown them; or have men? And, when they have once learned, which of them have bodies the most able to undergo labour, boys or men? Then we have that leisure for learning that neither boys have, nor other men; for we have neither the use of the bow to learn, as boys have, for we know it already; nor throwing of the javelin, for we know that too: nor have we that continual employment that other men have, some in agriculture, some in trades, and some in other particular affairs. We have not only leisure to practise military affairs, but we are under a necessity of doing it. Nor is this, as many other military matters are, a thing of difficulty, as well as of use; for is it not pleasanter, upon the road, to be on horseback, than to travel on foot? And where dispatch is required, is it not a pleasure to get quickly to a friend, when there is occasion? or, readily to overtake either a man or a beast in the pursuit? And is it not a convenience that, whatever

Digitized by Google

arms are proper to be carried, the horse helps to carry them; for, to have arms and to carry them is the same thing. And as to what one may have most reason to fear, that we may perhaps be obliged to come to action on horseback, before we are yet well skilled in the work, and that we may become neither able footmen nor able horsemen. Even this is not a difficulty that is unconquerable; for, whenever we please, we are immediately at liberty to fight on foot; nor shall we unlearn any thing of our skill as footmen by learning to ride."

Thus Cyrus spoke; and Chrysantas, speaking in favour of the same opinion, said thus: "I am," said he, "so desirous of learning to ride, that I reckon, were I a horseman, I should be a flying man. As matters now stand, were I to run a race with a man, I should be contented if I got but by the head before him; or, if I saw a beast running by, I would be contented, if, upon the stretch, I could contrive to reach him with my bow or javelin, before he got at a great distance from me. But, if I become a horseman, I shall be able to kill any man, though at as great a distance as I can see; and in the pursuit of beasts, some I shall be able to come up with, and to strike them at hand, others I shall be able to reach with my javelin, as well as if they stood still; for, if two creatures are swift alike, they continue as near to each other as if they stood still. Of all creatures, they that I think raise my envy and emulation the most, are the centaurs, if there were ever any. Creatures that, with the understanding of man, are capable of contrivance and forecast; who, with their hands, can effect what is proper to be done, and have the swiftness and strength of the horse, so as to overtake what flies them, and overturn what opposes them. So, when I am a horseman, all these powers do I carry with me: I shall be able to contrive things with my understanding, as a man; my arms I shall carry in my hands;

Digitized by Google

with my horse I shall pursue, and, by my horse's strength, overturn what opposes me. But then I shall not be bound down and grow to him, like the centaurs; and this is certainly better than to be incorporated with him; for centaurs, I fancy, must be at a loss both how to use several conveniencies discovered by men, and how to enjoy several pleasures natural to horses. But I, when I have learned to ride, and am mounted on horseback, shall perform the part of a centaur; and, when I dismount, I shall take my meals, clothe myself, and take my rest, as other men do. So that, what am I but a centaur, free and separable when I please; and then, when I please, of a piece again? Besides I have this advantage of the centaur," said he, "that he saw but with two eyes, and heard but with two ears, but I shall see with four eyes, and receive notices of things by means of four ears; for the horse, they say, discovers to men many things that he beforehand sees with his own eyes, and gives them notice of many things that he beforehand hears with his own ears. Write me down, therefore, as one of those that are desirous to serve on horseback." "And us too," said all the others. Upon this, Cyrus said, "Since then," said he, "we are so much of this opinion, what if we should make it a law, that it should be scandalous, for any of those amongst us, that I furnish with horses, to be seen travelling on foot, let the way he is to go be little or great, that men may imagine we are entirely centaurs?" This proposal he made them, and they all gave their consent. So that, at this day, the Persians still put it in practice; and none of the considerable men among the Persians are ever to be seen travelling on foot of their own good will.

These men were employed in these discourses: but when the middle of the day was past, the Median horse and the Hyrcanians rode up, and brought with them both horses and men, that they had taken;

Digitized by Google

for as many as delivered their arms they did not kill. When they rode up, Cyrus first asked them, whether they were all come safe? When they said that they were; he then asked them what they had done, and they related the things that they had performed, and gave magnificent accounts how manfully they had acted in every particular. He hearkened with pleasure to all that they had a mind to tell him, and then commended them thus: "It is apparent how well you have behaved, for you are now in appearance taller, more beautiful, and more terrible than before." He then asked them, how far they had gone, and whether the country was inhabited. They told him, "They had gone a great way; that the whole country was inhabited, and full of sheep, goats, oxen, and horses, corn, and all valuable things." "There are two things then," said he, "that we are to take care of; how to subject the people that are the possessors of these things; and how to make them remain upon the place. For a country, well inhabited, is a very valuable acquisition; but one destitute of men is destitute of every thing that is good. All those that stood to their defence," said he, "I know you have killed: and you did right; for this is of the greatest importance for the maintaining of a victory. Those that delivered their arms you have taken; and if we dismiss them, we should do what, I say, would turn to our advantage; for, first, we shall not be under a necessity of being upon our guard against them, nor of keeping a guard upon them, nor of furnishing them with provisions; for certainly we should not be for starving them. Then, by dismissing them, we shall have the greater number of captives; for, if we conquer the country, all will be our captives that inhabit it; and the rest, when they see these living, and set at liberty, will the more readily remain, and rather chuse to submit than to continue in war. This is my judgment, but if any

Digitized by Google

other person sees what is better, let him say it." But they, having heard these things, agreed to act accordingly.

So Cyrus, having called for the prisoners, spoke thus: "Friends," said he, "by your present submission, you have preserved your lives; and, for the future, if you behave in the same manner, no ill whatever shall befal you, unless it be that the same person will not govern you that governed you before; but you shall inhabit the same houses, and you shall cultivate the same territory; and you shall live with the same wives, and you shall rule your children as you do now; but you shall neither make war upon us, nor upon any one else; and if any other injure you, we will fight for you. And that nobody may order you out upon military service, bring your arms to us. And, to those that bring them, peace! and what I promise shall be made good to them without fraud. But we will make war upon those that refuse to lay their arms aside. But, then, if any of you shall come to us, and shall appear to do any action, or to give any information, in friendship and good will to us, him will we treat as a benefactor and a friend, not as a slave. Let these things, therefore, be known to you, and do you tell them to the rest. And if there are any that will not comply with us in these things that we require, do you lead us the way to them, that we may make ourselves masters of them, and they not masters of us." Thus he spoke. They paid him their adoration, and said that they would perform what he enjoined them.

When they were gone, Cyrus said, "It is time, O Medes and Armenians, for all of us to take our suppers. And all things proper have been made ready for you, in the best manner that we are able. Go your ways then, and send us half the bread that has been made; for there has been enough made for us both; but send us neither meat with it, nor any

Digitized by Google

thing to drink, for of these we have enough with us already provided. And do you," said he, "O, Hyrcanians, conduct them to the tents; the commanders to the greatest, (for you know which they are,) and the others as you think most proper. And do you, likewise, take your suppers where it is most agreeable to you; for the tents are untouched, and all things are provided there for you, as well as for the others. But let this be known to you both, that we undertake to keep the night-watch without. Do you look to what passes in the tents, and place your arms within; for they who are in the tents are not yet our friends."

The Medes then, and Tygranes's people, bathed themselves, (for all matters for that purpose had been provided) and, having changed their clothes, took their suppers; and their horses were provided with all necessaries. Half their bread they sent to the Persians, but sent no meat with it, nor wine; thinking that Cyrus's people were provided with those things, because he had said that they had them in plenty. But what Cyrus meant was, that the meat they had with their bread was hunger, and their drink was the water of a stream that ran by. Cyrus, therefore, having given the Persians their supper, sent many of them out, as soon as it was dark, in fives and tens, and commanded them to march round the camp privately; judging that they would be a guard to it, if any enemy came upon them from without; and that if any one ran off with treasure of any kind, they might take him. And it happened so; for there were many that ran away, and many were taken. Cyrus allowed the treasures to those that seized them, but ordered them to kill the men. So that, afterwards, even though one desired it, one could not easily meet with a man that was going any where in the night. And thus the Persians employed themselves; but the Medes drank and feasted, entertained themselves

Digitized by Google

with the music of flutes, and indulged themselves in all kinds of delights and pleasure; for a multitude of things of that sort had been taken. So that they who were upon the watch were in no want of work.

But Cyaxares, king of the Medes, that night that Cyrus marched away, was drunk himself, as well as those that were of his company in the tent; it being upon an occasion of happy success. And he thought that the rest of the Medes, excepting only some few, were still remaining in the camp, because he heard a mighty noise and uproar; for the servants of the Medes, upon their masters being gone, drank without ceasing, and were very tumultuous: and the more, because they had taken from the Assyrian army great quantities of wine, and abundance of other such things. As soon as the day came, and that nobody attended at his doors, but they that had supped with him; and that he heard that the camp was left empty by the Medes and by their horse; and that he himself, when he went out, saw that this was really the case; he then broke out into a rage at their going away, and leaving him destitute. And, as he is said to have been very violent and rash, he immediately commanded one of those about him to take some horse with him, and march with the utmost dispatch to the army that was with Cyrus, and to say thus: "I was of opinion, Cyrus, that even you would not have engaged in councils so imprudent and ill for me; or if Cyrus might have thought fit to do so, I did not think that you, Medes, would have consented to leave me thus destitute. Now, therefore, whether Cyrus will or will not, do you come away to me with the utmost dispatch." This message he sent them; but he that received these orders to march, said, "But how, O sovereign, shall I be able to find them?" "And how should Cyrus," said he, "find those that he marched after?" "Truly because," said he, "as I hear, certain Hyrcanians, who belonged to the ene-

Digitized by Google

my, and who had revolted and came hither, went and led them the way." Cyaxares hearing this, was in a much greater rage at Cyrus, for not having told it him; and he sent in much more haste to the Medes, that he might strip him of his forces: he ordered them back with more vehemence than before, and with threats. The messenger, likewise, he threatened, in case he did not discharge himself with vigour in the delivery of his message.

The person that was thus sent, marched with about a hundred of his own horse, and was grieved that he himself had not gone with Cyrus. As they proceeded in their march, the roads dividing, they lost their way in a beaten track, and could not get to Cyrus's army, till, meeting with some Assyrians that were retiring, they forced them to be their guides; and, by this means, getting sight of their fires, they got up with them about midnight. When they were got to the army, the guards, as was ordered them by Cyrus, did not admit them before day.

And when day appeared, Cyrus, calling to him the mages, commanded them to choose out what was due to the gods, upon the occasion of such advantages as they had obtained. These men employed themselves accordingly. He having summoned the alike-honoured, spoke to them thus: "My friends, God is pleased to lay many advantages before us; but we, O Persians, are, at present, but few in number, to secure to ourselves the possession of them. For the things that we have already gained, unless we secure them by a guard, will fall again into the power of others; and, if we leave some of ourselves as guards, to secure the things that are already in our power, we shall immediately be found to have no manner of strength remaining. My opinion is, therefore, that some one among you should go, as soon as possible, to the Persians, acquaint them with what I say, and bid them send an army as soon as possibly they can, if

Digitized by Google

the Persians desire that the dominion of Asia, and the revenues that arise from it, should belong to them. Go, therefore," said he, "you who are the oldest man, and when you arrive, say thus: that whatever soldiers they send, when they come to me, it shall be my care to maintain. You see all the advantages that we have gained; conceal no part of them. What part of these things it will be handsome and just for me to send to the gods, ask of my father; what to the public, ask of the magistrates. Let them send people to see what we do, and to acquaint them with what we desire from them. Do you," said he, "make yourself ready, and take your company to attend you."

After this he called the Medes, and with them Cyaxares's messenger appeared, and, before all, declared Cyaxares's anger to Cyrus, and his threats to the Medes, and in conclusion said, "That he commanded the Medes to come away, though Cyrus should incline to stay." The Medes, upon hearing the messenger, were silent, not knowing how they should disobey his summons, and yet in fear how they should yield obedience to him upon his threats, especially knowing the violence of the man. But Cyrus then spoke; "I do not at all wonder," said he, "O messenger, and you Medes, that Cyaxares, who had then seen a multitude of enemies, and knew not what we were doing, should be under concern both for us and for himself. But when he knows that a great many of the enemy are destroyed, and that they are all driven away before us, he will first cease to fear; and will then be convinced, that he is not destitute at this time, when his friends are destroying his enemies. But how is it possible that we can deserve reproach for doing him service? and that not of our own heads neither; for I prevailed with him to allow me to march, and to take you with me. It was not you that, from any desire of your own to march, begged his leave to do it, and so

Digitized by Google

came hither; but it was upon orders from himself to go, given to every one of you that was not averse to it. I am, therefore, very well satisfied that this anger of his will be allayed by our successes, and, when his fear ceases, will quite vanish. Now, therefore, do you, messenger, take a little rest, since you have undergone a great deal of fatigue. Let us, O Persians, since we expect the enemy to be with us, either to fight or to submit themselves, keep ourselves in the best order; for, while we are observed to be so, it is probable we shall succeed the better in what we desire. And do you," said he, "prince of the Hyrcanians, attend here, after you have commanded the leaders of your men to call them to arms."

When the Hyrcanians had done this, and came to him, Cyrus said, "It is a pleasure to me, O Hyrcanian, not only to perceive that you attend here, after having given us marks of your friendship, but that you appear to me to be a man of great ability. It is evident, that the same things are now alike advantageous to us both; for the Assyrians are enemies to me, and are now more at enmity with you than with myself. We must both of us, therefore, consult how to prevent any of our allies that are at present with us, from falling off from us, and, if we can, how to acquire others. You have heard the Mede deliver his orders to recal their cavalry. If they leave us, how can we, that are foot, remain alone? You and I, therefore, must contrive, that this messenger, who recals them, shall himself desire to stay with us. Do you, therefore, find out for him, and give him a tent, where he may pass his time in the handsomest manner, and with all things convenient about him. I will endeavour to employ him upon some business that will be more agreeable to him to do, than it will be to leave us. Do you discourse him upon the many advantages we hope all our friends will make, in case we are well sup-

Digitized by Google

plied with every thing necessary. And when you have done this, come again to me." The Hyrcanian went, and conducted the Mede to a tent.

And he that was going to the Persians, attended, ready prepared. Cyrus directed him to tell the Persians the things he had before mentioned in his discourse to him, and to deliver Cyaxares a letter. But," said he, "I have a mind to read you what I write, that, being apprized of the matter, you may own it, if any body ask you about it." The contents of the letter were thus:

CYRUS TO CYAXARES.

"JOY and happiness!—We have neither left you destitute, (for nobody, while they conquer their enemies, can be destitute of friends) nor, when we left you, did we imagine that we brought you into danger; but at the greater distance we were from you, so much the more security did we reckon we procured you; for they that sit themselves down the nearest to their friends, are not the men that best afford their friends security; but they that drive their enemies at the greatest distance, are the men that put their friends the most out of danger. Consider, then, what your conduct has been to me, in return of what mine has been to you, that you can yet blame me. I brought you friends and allies; not as many as you could persuade, but as many as I was able. You gave me, while I was yet upon friendly ground, as many as I could persuade to follow me; and, now that I am in the enemy's territory, you recal not every one that is willing to be gone, but all. At that time, therefore, I thought myself obliged both to yourself and them; but now you force me to leave you out, and to endeavour to make all my returns of gratitude and thanks to those that followed me. And yet I cannot act like you; but am now sending to the Persians for an army, and

Digitized by Google

give orders, that, whatever numbers are sent me, if you should be in any want of them before they reach us, you are free to use them, not according to their liking, but as you yourself please. And, though I am the younger man, yet I advise you not to take away what you have once given, lest you meet with ill-will, instead of thanks; and, when you would have any one to come quickly to you, not to send for him with threats; and when you talk of being destitute, not to threaten a multitude, lest you teach them not to mind you. We will endeavour to attend you, as soon as we have effected the things that we judge to be of advantage both to you and us.—Health attend you."

"Deliver him this letter, and whatever he asks you, upon the subject of these affairs, do you answer conformable to what is here written; for, with respect to the Persians, I give you such orders as are expressed in the letter." Having said thus to him, and given him the letter, he dismissed him; enjoining him withal to use diligence; as taking it for granted, that it would be of great advantage to him to be quickly back again.

After this, he observed all the Hyrcanians and Tygranes's men already armed; and the Persians were likewise armed: at which time, some of the neighbouring people brought in horses and arms. Such of the javelins as they were not themselves in want of, he ordered them to throw upon the place where he had ordered others before; and those, whose business it was, he ordered to burn them. But he commanded those who brought horses, to stay and look to them, till he signified his intentions to them. Then, calling to him the commanders of the horse, and those of the Hyrcanians, he spoke in this manner: "My friends and allies, do not wonder," said he, "that I call you frequently together; for our present circumstances are new to us; many things are yet in disorder; and things that are in

Digitized by Google

disorder, must of necessity give us trouble, till they are settled in their proper places. We have now in our power many treasures, as well as men captive; and, by our not knowing which of these belong to each of us, and by their not knowing who is to each of them severally master, there are not many of them that we see performing their proper parts; but almost all of them are at a loss what to do. That things, therefore, may not continue thus, do you distribute them. Whoever is in possession of a tent fully supplied with provisions of meat and drink, with servants, carpets, and apparel, and with all other things that a tent, well accommodated for military service, is furnished with; here, there is nothing further necessary than that the possessor should understand, that it is his part to take care of these things, as his own property. But where any one is possessed of a tent, where those things are wanting, after you have discovered it, upon examination, do you supply what falls short; for I know there will be of many things more than enough; because the enemy was possessed of every thing in greater proportion than suits our numbers. Besides, there have been with me certain stewards, belonging to the Assyrian king, and their other great men, who have told me, that they had by them sums of gold in coin, arising, as they said, from certain tributary payments. Make proclamation, therefore, that these things be brought to you where you sit. And denounce terror and punishments to whosoever does not execute what you command them. Do you receive these things, and distribute them: to the horsemen, double payments; to the foot, single; that, in case you want any thing, you may have wherewithal to buy. And have it presently proclaimed, that nobody injure the camp-market; but that the sutlers and tradesmen sell what each of them has for sale; and when they have disposed of these, that they fetch more, that the camp may be supplied."

Digitized by Google

They immediately had these things proclaimed. But the Medes and Hyrcanians spoke in this manner: "And how can we," said they, "distribute these things, without you and your people?" Cyrus, to this question, replied thus: "Is this, then, friends," said he, "your opinion, that, whatever is to be done, we must all of us attend upon it? and shall not I be thought sufficient, by you, to transact any thing for you that may be proper, nor you sufficient to transact for us? By what other means can we possibly create ourselves more trouble, and do less business than by acting thus? But you see," said he, "that we have been the guards that have kept these things for you; and you have reposed a confidence in us, that they have been well and faithfully guarded. Do you, on the other side, distribute these things, and we will repose a confidence in you, that they have been well and justly distributed. And, upon other occasions, we will endeavour to perform some other public service. And now, in the first place, you observe how many horses we have at present, and that others are continually bringing to us: if we leave these without riders, they will be of no manner of use to us, and will give us trouble to take care of them; but, if we set horsemen upon them, we shall be freed from the trouble, and shall add to our strength. If you have others that you would give them to, with whom it would be more pleasing to you to act with, upon any occasion in war, than with us, give them the horses; but, if you would rather have us for supporters and assistants, give them to us; for, when you pushed on before us, in the late service, without us, you put us under great apprehension, lest you should come by some misfortune; and you made us ashamed, that we were not at hand wherever you were. But if we once get horses, we will follow you; and, if it be thought of most service to engage on horseback, in concert with you, we shall lose nothing of our ardour and

Digitized by Google

zeal; but, if it be thought most proper to support you on foot, then to alight will be obvious and easy to us; we shall be ready at your hands on foot, and will contrive to find people to deliver our horses to."

Thus he spoke; and they replied, "We have neither men to mount upon these horses, nor, if we had, would we come to any other determination, since you would have it thus. Take, then," said they, "the horses, and do as you think best." "I receive them," said he, "and may good fortune attend upon our becoming horsemen! Do you divide the things that are in common; but, first take out for the gods whatever the mages shall direct: and then take such things for Cyaxares as you think most acceptable to him." They laughed, and said, that beautiful women, then, were what should be chosen for him. "Chuse women, then," said he, "and whatever else you think proper: and when you have chosen for him, then do you, Hyrcanians, do all you can to give entire content to all these men that have voluntarily followed me. And you, O Medes, reward these, our first allies, in such a manner, as may convince them that they took a right resolution, when they became our friends. And out of the whole, give a share to the messenger that is come from Cyaxares, both to himself and the men that are with him, and exhort him to stay with us, as being my opinion, jointly with yours, that, by means of his being better informed of every particular, he may represent to Cyaxares a full state of things; for the Persians," said he, "that are with me, let what remains over and above, after you are all well provided for, be sufficient; for," said he, "we have not been brought up in a nice, delicate way, but in a coarse, rustic manner; so that, perhaps, you may laugh at us, if there should happen to be any thing fine and magnificent left for our share: as, I know very well," said he, "we shall give you a great deal of laughter and diversion,

Digitized by Google

when we are set on horseback; and so we shall do, I believe," said he, "when we are thrown from off our horses to the ground." Upon this, they went their ways to the distribution, laughing heartily at this new body of horse.

But he, calling the centurians to him, ordered them to take the horses, the horse-furniture, and the men that were to take care of them; and, after having numbered them, and drawn lots by centuries, to take each of them a like number. Cyrus himself ordered them to make proclamation, that whatever slave there might be, either in the Assyrian, Syrian, or Arabian armies, whether he were Mede, Persian, Bactrian, Carian, Cilician, or Greek, or of any other country, forced to serve, that he should appear. These men, hearing the proclamation, appeared joyfully before him, in great numbers. And he, having chosen from amongst them the most personable and sightly men, told them that they should now become free, and bear such arms as he would give them. To supply them with all necessaries, he said, should be his care; and, bringing them immediately to the centurians, he put them under their care, and commanded them to give them shields and a smaller sort of swords, that, being thus equipped, they might attend the horse; that they should take all necessaries for these men, as well as for the Persians that were with him; that they themselves, with their corselets and lances, should always march on horseback; and he began it himself: and that, over the foot of the alike-honoured, they should, each of them, out of the number of the alike-honoured, appoint a commander in his own stead. In these affairs were these men employed.

Meanwhile, Gobrias, an Assyrian, and a man in years, arrived on horseback, attended by some cavalry, consisting of his own dependants; and they were all provided with arms proper for horse. They that had been appointed to receive the arms, bid

Digitized by Google

them deliver their lances, that they might burn them, as they had done others before; but Gobrias said, that he desired first to see Cyrus. Then they that attended this service, left the other horsemen behind, and conducted Gobrias to Cyrus; and, as soon as he saw Cyrus, he spoke thus: "My sovereign lord, I am, by birth, an Assyrian; I have a strong fortress in my possession, and have the command of a large territory: I furnished the Assyrian king with a thousand horse, and was very much his friend: but since he, who was an excellent man, has lost his life in the war against you, and that his son, who is my greatest enemy, now possesses the government, I come, and throw myself at your feet, as a supplicant, and give myself to you as a servant and assistant in the war. I beg you to be my revenger; I make you my son, as far as it is possible. With respect to male issue, I am childless; for he, O sovereign, that was my only one, an excellent youth, who loved and honoured me to as great a degree as son could do to make a father happy! him did the present king (the late king, the father of the present, having sent for my son, as intending to give him his daughter, and I sent him away, proud that I should see my son married to the daughter of the king,) him did the present king invite to hunt with him, as with a friend; and, upon a bear appearing in view, they both pursued. The present king, having thrown his javelin, missed his aim. O! that it had not happened so! and, my son making his throw—unhappy thing!—brought the bear to the ground. He was then enraged, but kept his envy concealed; but then again a lion falling in their way, he again missed; and that it should happen so to him, I do not think at all wonderful; but my son, again hitting his mark, killed the lion, and said, I have twice thrown single javelins, and brought the beasts both times to the ground. Upon this the impious wretch contained his malice no longer, but, snatching a lance from one of his

Digitized by Google

followers, struck it into his breast, and took away the life of my dear and only son! Then I, miserable man! brought him away a corpse, instead of a bridegroom; and I, who am of these years, buried him, my excellent and beloved son, a youth but just bearded. His murderer, as if he had destroyed an enemy, has never yet appeared to have had any remorse; nor has he, in amends for the vile action, ever vouchsafed to pay any honour to him, who is now under the ground. His father, indeed, had compassion, and plainly appeared to join in affliction with me at this misfortune; therefore, had he lived, I had never applied to you to his prejudice; for I had received a great many instances of friendship from him, and I served him. But since the government has fallen to the murderer of my son, I can never possibly bear him the least good-will; nor can he, I know very well, ever reckon me his friend; for he knows how I stand affected towards him; how I, who lived with that joy and satisfaction before, must now stand in this destitute condition, passing my old age in sorrow. If you receive me, therefore, and that I can have hopes of obtaining, by your means, a revenge for my dear son, I shall think I arise again to new life; I shall neither be ashamed to live, nor, if I die, do I think that I shall end my days with grief."

Thus he spoke. And Cyrus replied, "If you make it appear, Gobrias, that you really are in that disposition towards us that you express, I receive you as our supplicant, and, with the help of the gods, I promise to revenge you on the murderer. But tell me," said he, "if we effect these things for you, and allow you to hold your fortress, your territory, and your arms, and the power that you had before, what service will you do for us, in return of these things?" He then said, "My fortress I will yield you, for your habitation, whenever you please; the same tribute for my territory, that I used to pay to him, I will pay

Digitized by Google

to you; wherever you shall make war, I will attend you in the service, with the forces of my territory: and I have, besides," said he, "a maiden daughter, that I tenderly love, just of an age for marriage; one that, I formerly reckoned, I brought up as a wife for the person now reigning; but she herself has now begged me, with many tears and sighs, not to give her to the murderer of her brother; and I join with her in opinion: I here give you leave to deal with her, as I appear to deal by you." Then Cyrus said, "Upon these terms," said he, "with truth and sincerity do I give you my right hand, and accept of yours. Let the gods be witnesses between us." When these things had passed, he bid Gobrias go, and keep his arms: and he asked him at what distance his habitation was, it being his intention to go thither. He then said, "If you march to-morrow morning, you may quarter with us the next day." So Gobrias went away, and left a guide.

The Medes then came, after having delivered to the mages such things as they had said were to be chosen for the gods. And they had chosen for Cyrus a most beautiful tent; a Susian woman, that was said to have been the most beautiful woman of all Asia; and two other women, that were the finest singers. And they chose the same things over again for Cyaxares. They had fully supplied themselves with all such things as they wanted, that they might be in want of nothing, in the course of their service in the war; for there were all things in great abundance. The Hyrcanians took likewise whatever they wanted; and they made Cyaxares's messenger an equal sharer with them. As many tents as were remaining over and above, they gave to Cyrus, that the Persians might have them; the money, they said, they would divide as soon as it was collected—and they divided it accordingly. These things did these men do and say: but Cyrus ordered such men to take and keep the things that belonged to Cyaxares,

Digitized by Google

as he knew to be most intimate with him. "And, all that you give me," said he, "I accept with pleasure; but, he among you," said he, "that is the most in want of them, shall have the use of them." A certain Mede, who was a lover of music, then said, "In the evening, Cyrus, I heard those singers, that you now have, and I heard them with pleasure: if you would give me one of them, I believe it will be a greater pleasure to me to attend the service of the war, than to stay at home." Then Cyrus said, "I give her you, and I think myself more obliged to you for asking her of me, than you are to me for having her; so very desirous am I to please you all." So he then asked for his woman, and took her away.

Digitized by Google

CYROPÆDIA;

OR, THE

INSTITUTION OF CYRUS.

BOOK V.

CYRUS then calling to him Araspes the Mede, (he that had been his companion from a boy, to whom he gave the Median robe, that he himself put off when he left Astyages, and departed for Persia), commanding him to keep the woman and tent for him. This woman was wife of Abradatas, king of the Susians. And when the camp of the Assyrians was taken, her husband was not in the camp, but was gone upon an embassy to the king of the Bactrians. The Assyrians had sent him to treat of an alliance between them; for he happened to have contracted a friendship with the king of the Bactrians. This woman, therefore, he ordered Araspes to keep, till such time as he took her himself. But Araspes, having received his command, asked him this question:

"Cyrus," said he, "have you seen this woman that you bid me keep?" "No, by Jove," said he, "I have not." "But I did," said he, "when we chose her for you. Indeed, when we first entered her tent, we did not know her; for she was sitting

Digitized by Google

upon the ground, with all her women servants round her, and was dressed in the same manner as her servants were; but when we looked around, being desirous to know which was the mistress, she immediately appeared to excel all the others, though she was sitting with a veil over her, and looking down upon the ground. When we bid her rise, she, and all the servants round her, rose. Here then she excelled first in stature, then in strength, and grace, and beautiful shape, though she was standing in a dejected posture, and tears appeared to have fallen from her eyes, some upon her clothes, and some at her feet. As soon as the eldest among us had said to her, 'Take courage woman; we have heard that your husband is, indeed, an excellent man, but we now choose you out for a man, that, be it known to you, is not inferior to him, either in person, in understanding, or in power; but, as we think, if there be a man in the world that deserves admiration, Cyrus does, and to him henceforward you shall belong.' As soon as the woman heard this, she tore down her robe, and set up a lamentable cry, and her servants cried out at the same time with her. Upon this, most part of her face discovered itself, and her neck and hands appeared. And be it known to you, Cyrus," said he, "that I, and the rest that saw her, all thought that never yet was produced, or born of mortals, such a woman, throughout all Asia. And by all means," said he, "you likewise shall see her."

Then Cyrus said, "No, by Jove, not I; and much the less, if she be such a one as you say." "Why so," said the young man. "Because," said he, "if, upon hearing now from you that she is handsome, I am persuaded to go and see her at a time that I have not much leisure, I am afraid that she will much more easily persuade me to come and see her again; and, after that, perhaps I may neglect what I am to do, and sit gazing at her." The young man then laughed, and said, "And do

Digitized by Google

you think, Cyrus, that the beauty of a human creature can necessitate one, against his will, to act contrary to what is best?" "If this were naturally so," said he, "we should be all under the same necessity. You see," said he, "how fire burns all people alike; for such is the nature of it. But of beauties, some inspire people with love, and some do not; one loves one, and another another; for it is a voluntary thing, and every one loves those that he pleases. A brother does not fall in love with a sister, but somebody else does; nor is a father in love with a daughter, but some other person is. Fear and the law are a sufficient bar to love. If, indeed," said he, "the law should enjoin, that they who did not eat should not be hungry, and that they who did not drink should not be thirsty; that men should not be cold in the winter, nor hot in the summer; no law in the world could make men submit to these decisions, for by nature they are subject to these things. But love is a voluntary thing, and every one loves those that suit him, just as he does his clothes or his shoes. How comes it to pass then," said Cyrus, "if to love be a voluntary thing, that one cannot give it over when we will? For I have seen people," said he, "in tears for grief, upon the account of love; slaves to those they were in love with, and yet thought slavery a very great evil, before they were in love; giving away many things that they were never the better for parting with, wishing to be rid of love, as they would of any other distemper, and yet not able to get rid of it, but bound down by it, as by a stronger tie of necessity, than if they were bound in iron-chains! they give themselves up therefore to those they love, to serve them in many odd and unaccountable ways; yet, with all their sufferings, they never attempt making their escape, but keep continual watch upon their loves, lest they should escape from them."

The young man to this said, "There are people,

Digitized by Google

indeed, that do these things, but," said he, "they are miserable wretches; and this I believe is the reason why they are always wishing themselves dead, as being wretched and unhappy; and though there are ten thousand ways of parting with life, yet they do not part with it. Just such wretches as these, are they that attempt thefts, and will not abstain from what belongs to others; but when they have plundered or stolen any thing, you see," said he, "that you are the first that accuse the thief and the plunderer, as reckoning theft to be no such fatal necessary thing, and you do not pardon, but punish it. So people that are beautiful do not necessitate others to love them, nor to covet what they ought not; but mean wretched men are impotent, I know, in all their passions, and then they accuse love. Men, excellent and worthy, though they have inclinations both for gold, fine horses, and beautiful women, can yet with ease abstain from any of them, so as not to touch them contrary to right; I, therefore," said he, "who have seen this woman, and think her very beautiful, yet I am here attending upon you, and I am abroad on horseback, and in all other respects I discharge my duty."

"But, by Jove," said Cyrus, "perhaps you retired before the time that love naturally lays hold of a man. It is not the nature of fire not immediately to burn the man that touches it, and wood does not immediately blaze out; yet still I am not willing either to meddle with fire, or to look at beautiful persons: nor do I advise you, Araspes, to let your eyes dwell long upon beauties; for as fire burns those that touch it, beauties catch hold of those that look at them, though at a distance, and set them on fire with love."

"Be easy," said he, Cyrus; "though I look at her without ceasing, I will not be so conquered, as to do any thing that I ought not." "You speak," said he, "very handsomely; guard her, therefore,"

Digitized by Google

said he, "as I bid you, and be careful of her; for, perhaps, this woman may be of service to us upon some occasion or other." And having discoursed thus, they parted.

The young man, partly by seeing the woman to be extremely beautiful, and by being apprized of her worth and goodness, partly by waiting upon her and serving her, with intention to please her, and partly by his finding her not to be ungrateful in return, but that she took care, by her servants, that all things convenient should be provided for him when he came in, and that he should want nothing when he was ill; by all these means he was made her captive in love; and, perhaps, what happened to him in this case was what need not to be wondered at.

Thus were these things transacted.

But Cyrus, designing that both the Medes and allies should stay with him of their own accord, summoned together all the proper persons, and, when they were met, spoke to this effect: "Medes, and all you that are here present, I know very well that you came with me, not out of any desire of getting money, nor with the thought of serving Cyaxares by it, but you were willing to oblige me by it, and, in honour to me, you resolved to undertake a march by night, and to embark yourselves in dangers and hazards with me; and, if I am not very unjust, I must acknowledge myself indebted to you for these things. But I don't think I am yet able to make you a due return of them; this I am not ashamed to say. But that I will make you just returns, if you stay with me; this, be it known to you, I should be ashamed to tell you; for I should think, that it would look as if I said this only to make you the more willing to stay with me. Instead of that, therefore, I say this, if you now go away in obedience to Cyaxares, yet will I endeavour, if I act with success, to deal by you, in such a manner, as

Digitized by Google

shall make you applaud me. For my own part, I will not go, and the Hyrcanians, to whom I have given my oath and my right hand, I will stand by; I will not be caught betraying them. And for Gobrias, who delivers us up his fortress, his territory, and his whole force, I will endeavour to bring it about, that he shall not repent his journey to me; and, what is above all, when the gods so evidently deliver all these advantages into our hands, I ought to reverence them, and be ashamed to make a rash retreat and abandon all. Thus, therefore," said he, "will I act; do you as you judge proper, and tell me what your mind is." Thus he spoke.

And he, who before had said that he was related to Cyrus, replied, "As for me," said he, "O king! for you I take to be as much, by birth and nature, my king, as the particular bee in a hive is born the leader of the bees; for that one they willingly obey; where that remains, not one from thence departs; that remove, not one of them is left behind, so strong is the affection they are inspired with to be governed by it: and men seem to me to be almost exactly thus disposed towards you. For when you left us, and went into Persia, what Mede, either young or old, staid behind, and did not follow you, till Astyages made us turn back? When you set out from Persia to our assistance, we again saw almost all your friends voluntarily following you: and when you were desirous to undertake the expedition hither, all the Medes willingly attended you; and we now stand so disposed, as that, with you, though we are in an enemy's country, we have courage, and, without you, we are afraid even to go home. Let the rest, therefore, speak for themselves, and declare what they will do. I, Cyrus, and they that are under my command, will remain with you, and, comforted with the sight of you, and supplied by your bounty, we will undergo any thing, and bear it with bravery."

Digitized by Google

Upon this, Tygranes spoke thus: "Do not at all wonder," said he, "Cyrus, if I am silent; for my soul," said he, "is not prepared for advising you, but for executing what you command."

Then the Hyrcanian said, "For my part, O Medes, if you now go away, I should say it were the pleasure of some deity, not to suffer you to be highly fortunate and happy; for what human creature can determine for turning back when the enemies are flying? or when they deliver their arms, would refuse to accept them? or when they deliver up themselves, and all that belongs to them, would refuse to receive them? especially when we have such a leader as, in my opinion, and I swear it to you by all the gods, is more pleased with doing us good, than with enriching himself?" Upon this the Medes all said thus: "You, O Cyrus, have led us out, and do you, when you think it proper to retire, lead us back again with you."

Cyrus, having heard these things, made this prayer:

"But do thou, greatest Jove! I beg thee, grant me to exceed in good offices those that pay me such honour!"

Upon this, he ordered the rest to place their guards, and attend to the care of themselves. But the Persians he ordered to take possession of their tents; the horsemen such as were proper for them, and the foot such as were sufficient for the foot; and he ordered things to be so regulated, that they who were in the tents, dispatching the business there, should bring all necessaries to the Persians in their ranks, and see that the horses were taken care of, that the Persians might have no other work to do but the business of war. This day they thus passed.

And the next morning, when they rose, they marched to join Gobrias. Cyrus marched on horseback, as did also the Persian horsemen, who were

Digitized by Google

about two thousand. They who held the shields and the swords of these men followed after them, being equal to them in number; and the rest of the army marched in order of battle. He ordered every one to tell their new servants, that whoever of them should be seen either behind the rear-guard or before the front, or should be caught on the outside of those that were in their ranks upon either wing, should be punished. On the second day, towards the evening, they reached the habitation of Gobrias. They saw it to be an exceeding strong fortress, and that all things were provided, upon the walls, proper for a vigorous defence; and they saw abundance of oxen and sheep brought under the fortifications. Gobrias then, sending to Cyrus, bid him ride round, and see where the access was most easy, and send in to him some of those that he confided in, who, having seen how things stood within, might give him an account of them. So Cyrus, desiring, in reality, to see if the fortress might be taken on any side, or whether Gobrias might be discovered to be false, rode round on every side, but saw every part too strong to be approached. They that Cyrus sent into Gobrias brought him an account, that there was such plenty of all good things within, as could not, (as they thought) not even in the age of a man, come to fail the people that were there. Cyrus was under concern about what all this might mean. But Gobrias himself came out to him, and brought out all his men; some carrying wine, some meal, and others driving oxen, sheep, hogs, and goats, and of every thing that was eatable; they brought sufficient to furnish a handsome supper for the whole army that was with Cyrus. They that were appointed to this service, made distribution of all these things, and they all supped. But Gobrias, when all his men were come out, bid Cyrus enter in the manner that he thought the most safe. Cyrus, therefore, sending

Digitized by Google

in before certain people, to view and search into things, and a force with them, then entered himself; and, when he was got in, keeping the gates open, he summoned all his friends and the commanders that had attended him; and, when they were come in, Gobrias, producing cups of gold, and vessels of various kinds, all manner of furniture and apparel, daricks without number, and magnificent things of all kinds; and, at last, bringing out his daughter, (who was astonishingly beautiful and tall, but in affliction upon the death of her brother) spoke thus:

"Cyrus, all these treasures I give you, and this daughter of mine I intrust you with, to dispose of as you think fit; but we are both of us your supplicants: I, before, that you would be the revenger of my son; and she, now, that you would be the revenger of her brother."

Cyrus to this said, "I promised you then, that, if you were not false to us, I would revenge you to the utmost of my power; and, now that I find you true to us, I am under the obligation of that promise. And I now promise her, with the help of the gods, to perform it. These treasures," said he, "I accept, but give them to this your daughter, and to the man that shall marry her. But I go off with one present from you, that I could not go off with more pleasure with the treasures of Babylon, where there are abundance; nor even with those of the whole world, were they to be exchanged for this that you have now presented me with.

Gobrias, wondering what it should be, and suspecting that he meant his daughter, asked him thus, "O Cyrus," said he, "what is it?"

Then Cyrus replied, "Gobrias," said he, "it is this. I believe there may be abundance of men that would not be guilty either of impiety, injustice, or falsehood; and yet, because nobody will throw either treasures, or power, or strong fortresses, or lovely children in their way, die before it comes to

Digitized by Google

appear what they were. But you, by having now put into my hands both strong fortresses, and riches of all kinds, your whole force, and your daughter, who is so valuable a possession, have made me clearly appear to all men, to be one that would neither be guilty of impiety towards friends that receive and entertain me, nor of injustice for the sake of treasure, nor willingly false to faith in compacts. This, therefore, be you assured, I will not forget, while I am a just man, and while, as such, I receive the applause of men, but I will endeavour to make you returns of honour in all things great and noble; and don't be afraid of wanting a husband for your daughter, and such a one as shall be worthy of her. For I have many excellent friends, and, amongst them, whoever it is that marries her, whether he will have either as much treasure as you have given, or a great deal more, I am not able to say; but be assured, that there are some of them, who, for all the treasures you have bestowed, do not, upon that account, esteem you one jot the more. But they are, at this time, my rivals; they supplicate all the gods, that they may have an opportunity of shewing themselves, that they are not less faithful to their friends than I am; that, while alive, they will never yield to their enemies, unless some god should blast their endeavours; and that, for virtue and good reputation, they would not accept of all the treasures of the Syrians and Assyrians added to yours. Such men, be you assured, are sitting here."

Gobrias, smiling at this, "By the gods," said he, "Cyrus, pray shew me where these men are, that I may beg one of them of you to be my son." "Don't trouble yourself," said he; "it will not be at all necessary for you to enquire that of me. If you will but attend us, you yourself will be able to shew them every one to any body else."

And having said this, he took Gobrias by the right hand, rose, went out, and brought out all that were

Digitized by Google

with him; and though Gobrias repeatedly desired him to take his supper within, yet he would not do it, but supped in the camp, and took Gobrias to sup with him. After he had laid himself down on a mattress, he asked him thus; "Tell me," said he, "Gobrias, whether do you think that you, or we here, have the greatest plenty of furniture for couches?" He replied, "By Jove, I know very well that you have the furniture of this kind in greatest abundance, and couches too in greater number: and then your habitations are much larger than mine; for you have heaven and earth for a habitation, and couches you have as many as there are places upon the earth to lie on; and for their furniture, you don't only think that you have as much of it as there grows of wool upon the backs of sheep, but as much as there is of stubble and brush-wood that the mountains and plains produce."

But Gobrias then supping with him, for the first time, and observing the coarseness of the meats that were set before them, thought that they themselves lived in a much nobler manner than these people. But he afterwards considered their great temperance; for no disciplined Persian ever appeared struck with any sort of meats or drink, either by eagerness in his eyes, or by greediness, or by any such intenseness of mind, as not to give the same attention to things as if he were not taken up in eating; but, as good horsemen, by keeping themselves easy and undisturbed on horseback, are able, at the same time, to see, to hear, and to speak what is proper; so they think, that while they are at their food, they ought to appear discreet and temperate; and to be much moved with any sort of meat or drink, they take to be hoggish and brutal. He considered, likewise, their manner of converse, in asking each other such questions as were more agreeable to be asked than not; in jesting with each other in such a manner as was more pleasing than

Digitized by Google

if let alone; and of their sporting with each other, but so as to keep at the greatest distance from being abusive, or from doing any thing indecent and ugly, and from giving one another offence. But what seemed to him to be above all, was, that men, engaged in military service, should think, that none of those engaged in the same dangers should be served with greater plenty than others; but they reckoned it their noblest feast, to provide in the best manner for those that were to be their fellow combatants. And when Gobrias rose up to go to his house, he is reported to have said,

"It is no longer a wonder to me, Cyrus, that we possess those fine vessels, gold, and rich habits, in greater abundance than you do, and that we are much less deserving than you are; for we do our endeavours to obtain as many of these things as we can, and your endeavours are to make yourselves the most excellent men." Thus he spoke; and Cyrus said, "Take care, Gobrias, to attend in the morning with your horse, ready in arms, that we may see your force, and, at the same time, that you may conduct us through your territory, that we may know what we are to reckon belonging to our friends, and what to our enemies."

And having thus discoursed, they parted, each retiring to his proper business.

When day came, Gobrias attended with his horse, and led them the way. But Cyrus, as became a commander, was not only attentive to his present march, but, as he advanced, considered whether it was in his power, by any means, to distress and weaken the enemy, and to strengthen themselves. Calling, therefore, the Hyrcanian and Gobrias to him, (for he judged that these understood best the things that he thought it necessary for him to be informed of) "My friends," said he, "I don't think that I am in the wrong, when I consult with you upon the subject of this war, as with men that are

Digitized by Google

faithful and true; for I find that it is more your business than mine, to take care that the Assyrian do not get the better of us: I, perhaps, though I fail in my undertaking here, may yet have a farther resource; but, if he get the better, I see that all is lost for you. He is, indeed, my enemy, but not out of any hatred he bears me, but because he thinks it a damage to himself that we should be considerable, and this was the reason he made war upon us. But you he hates, and, by you, he thinks himself unjustly dealt with." To this they both answered, "That he should proceed as he intended, and as concluding, that they were convinced of what he said, and under the greatest care and concern for the turn that the present state of their affairs might take." Here then he thus began: "Tell me," said he, "does the Assyrian think that you are the only people at enmity with him? or do you know any body else that is his enemy?" "Yes, by Jove," said the Hyrcanian, "the Cadusians are his enemies in the highest degree, and are a strong and numerous people. The Sacians too, that are our borderers, and who have undergone a great many hardships under the Assyrian, for he endeavoured to subdue them as he did us." "Don't you think, therefore," said he, "that they would both, with pleasure, fall upon the Assyrian, in conjunction with us?" "With a great deal of pleasure," said they, "if they could join us." "What is there then between," said he, "to hinder our joining?" "The Assyrians," said they; "the very nation that you are now marching through."

After Cyrus had heard this, "Well, Gobrias," said he, "don't you charge this young man, that is now established as king, with great pride, and insolence of temper?" "Yes," said Gobrias, "for I have suffered by him accordingly." "And has he then," said Cyrus, "been so only to you; or has he been so to others besides?" "By Jove," said Go-

Digitized by Google

brias, "to many others. But what need I mention the wrongs he has done to the inconsiderable? There is one man abundantly more powerful than myself, whose son being his companion, as mine was, and drinking with him at his own house, he took and castrated; because, as some say, his courtezan had commended him as a handsome man, and pronounced that woman happy that was to be his wife. But, as he himself now says, it was because he had made an attempt upon his courtezan. This man is now a eunuch, and, since the death of his father, holds that government." "Don't you think, therefore," said he, "that this man would see us with pleasure, if he thought we would support him?" "I know it very well," said Gobrias: "but to come at the sight of him, Cyrus, is a difficult matter." "How so?" said Cyrus. "Because, if any one has a mind to join him, one must pass by Babylon itself." "And what difficulty then is there in this?" "The difficulty, by Jove," said Gobrias, "is, that the forces that belong to that place alone, I know to be much greater than those you have at present with you; and be assured, that the Assyrians are now less forward than before to bring you arms and horses; for this reason, that your force appears to be but little to those that have had a view of it; and the discourse of this has been already much spread abroad among them. So it seems to me," said he, "to be best for us to be upon our guard, and cautious to our march."

Cyrus, hearing this from Gobrias, spoke to him in this manner:

"In my opinion, Gobrias, you say very well, when you bid us take the safest course we can, with respect to our march; and, therefore, upon consideration, I am not able to find that any other march is safer for us than that to Babylon itself, if the principal strength of the enemy lies there; for, you say, they are very numerous; and, if they are in

Digitized by Google

heart, then, I say, they will be terrible to us. By not seeing us, therefore, and by imagining that it is our fear of them that keeps us from appearing; be assured," said he, "that they will be released from the fear that has been upon them; courage will spring up in its stead, and a courage that will be so much the greater, as they are the longer without seeing us. If we march instantly up to them, we shall find many of them lamenting for those that we have killed, many still bound up, by reason of the wounds they received from our people, and all of them still well remembering the boldness of this army, as well as their own misfortune and flight. And be assured, Gobrias, of this besides, that a multitude, when they are in heart, raise in themselves such a courage as nothing can withstand; but, when they are in fear, they bring upon themselves such a terror as is the greater, and strikes upon them so much the more as they are the more in number. For it falls upon them, increased by numerous stories of misfortune, and gathers to a head from many unhappy circumstances, and from multitudes of dejected and astonished looks. So that it grows to such a height, that it is no easy matter either to suppress it by any discourse, or to raise a spirit by leading to the enemy, or to nurse up a courage by retreating; but, the more you exhort them to confidence, they imagine themselves to be in so much the more dangerous circumstances. And now let us examine strictly into this particular farther. And, indeed, if victories, from henceforward, are acts to be performed only by that party that can reckon the greatest numbers, you are in the right to fear for us, and we are in reality in dangerous circumstances. But, if engagements, as heretofore they have been, are still decided by good combatants, you will not be at all in the wrong to be of good heart; for, with the help of the gods, you will find more amongst us, that are forward to engage,

Digitized by Google

than amongst them. And, that you may be still more in heart, consider this: that the enemies are at this time much weaker than they were before they were beaten by us, and still weaker than when they fled from us; but we are more in vigour since we have been victorious, and stronger since you have joined us. For, do not still think contemptuously of your people, now that they are with us; for be assured, Gobrias, that they that attend the victorious, follow with confidence: nor let this escape your notice," said he, "that the enemy is now at full liberty to see us; but we cannot, by any means, make our appearance with greater terror to them, than by our marching up to them. As this, therefore, is my fixed opinion, do you lead us directly the way to Babylon."

So marching on, they reached the boundaries of Gobrias's territory upon the fourth day. When he was got into the enemy's country, he took the foot to himself, and as many of the horse as he thought proper, and formed them. The rest of the horse he sent out upon excursions; he ordered them to kill those that were in arms, but to bring the rest to him, together with whatever sheep or cattle they should take. He ordered out the Persians likewise, upon this service, with the others; and many of them returned, after having got falls from their horses, but many of them brought off considerable booty. When the booty arrived, and that he had called together the commanders of the Medes and Hyrcanians, together with the alike-honoured, he spoke thus:

"Gobrias, my friends, has entertained us all with good things in great abundance: therefore," said he, "after having taken out what is due to the gods, and what will be sufficient for the army, if we should give the remainder of the booty to him, we should do a handsome thing, by making it immediately appear, that we endeavour, in benefits, to exceed our benefactors."

Digitized by Google

When they had heard this, they all commended and applauded it; and one of them spoke thus: "This we will do, Cyrus," said he, "by all means; for I believe," said he, "that Gobrias took us for beggarly people; because we came not with daricks in abundance, and do not drink out of golden cups; but, if we do this that you propose, he may then understand that it is possible to be generous, even without gold. Go, then," said he, "and, having delivered to the mages what is due to the gods, and taken what is sufficient for the army, call Gobrias, and give him the remainder."

So these men, having taken as much as was proper, gave the rest to Gobrias. Upon this, he marched on to Babylon itself, making the same disposition as when he fought: and, the Assyrians declining to come out against him, Cyrus commanded Gobrias to ride on before, and to declare that, if the king were willing to come out and fight for his territory, he would fight him; but, if he would not defend his territory, that then, of necessity, he was to submit to his conquerors. Gobrias, riding on as far as it was safe, notified these things. And the other sent out one to return him an answer, in this manner:

"Gobrias, your sovereign says to you thus: that I have killed your son, I do not repent; but I repent that I have not killed you likewise! If you would fight, come hither upon the thirtieth day from hence: we are at this time not at leisure, for we are yet employed in our preparations."

Then Gobrias said, "May that repentance never quit you! for, it is plain, I am a torment to you, from the moment that this repentance takes place."

Gobrias brought back the message from the Assyrian; and Cyrus, having heard it, drew off the army; and, calling Gobrias to him, "Tell me," said he, "did not you say, that you thought a certain person, who had been castrated by the Assyrian,

Digitized by Google

would take part with us?" "I think I know it very well," said he; "for he and I have often conferred together with great freedom." "When you think it proper, therefore, do you go to him: and, in the first place, you must manage so as to know what he says upon the subject; and, when you have conferred with him, if you find him inclined to be our friend, you must then contrive that his friendship for us may be kept concealed: for no one can by any other means do greater service to his friends in war, than by appearing to be their enemy; nor can he by any other means do greater mischief to his enemy, than by appearing to be their friend." "I know, indeed," said Gobrias, "that Gadatas would pay any price to do some considerable mischief to the Assyrian king: but then we must consider what it is that he can do." "Tell me, then," said Cyrus, "that fortress that lies upon the frontiers of this country, and that you say was built as a barrier and defence to it, in war against the Hyrcanians and Sacians; do you think," said he, "that the commander of it would admit the eunuch into it, if he came thither with his forces?" "Certainly," said Gobrias, "if he came unsuspected as now he is." "Therefore," said he, "he would stand the clearest from all suspicion, if I should fall upon the places that are in his possession, as intending to make myself master of them, and he should act with his forces against me; if I should take something of his, and he on the other side, should take either some others of our people, or some of those messengers that I send to such people as you say are enemies to the Assyrian; and if the people so taken declare that they were going to get forces, and to fetch ladders for the attack of the fortress; and if the eunuch then pretend that, upon hearing these things, he attended him with intention to give him an account of them——"

Then Gobrias said, "If these things are thus

Digitized by Google

transacted, I know very well, that he would admit him, and would beg him to stay till you were gone." "And then," said Cyrus, "if he were once got in, could not he give up the fortress into our hands?" "Very probably," said Gobrias, "if he prepared matters within, and you brought a considerable strength upon them from without." Go, then," said he, "and, after you have given him your instructions and accomplished these matters, endeavour to be here with us again: but, as for his securities of our keeping faith with him, I desire you would neither mention, nor intimate to him any greater than those that you yourself received from us."

Upon this, Gobrias went his way. The eunuch seeing him, with great pleasure, consented in every thing, and settled with him the things that were proper to be done.

And when Gobrias brought back an account, that the whole businsss of his errand was firmly settled and agreed with the eunuch, then, the next day Cyrus fell in upon him. Gadatas defended himself against the attack; the place that Cyrus took, was that that Gadatas had appointed: of the messengers that Cyrus sent, directing them, beforehand, which way they should go, some Gadatas suffered to escape, that they might bring forces and fetch ladders; but, those that he took, he put to the torture, before a great many people; and, when he had heard what they declared to be the business they went about, he immediately prepared all things, and marched in the night, as intending to go and give an account of it: to conclude, he was trusted, and he entered the fortress, as an assistant, in defence of it; for a while he concurred with the governor in all preparations, as far as he was able; but when Cyrus came up, he seized the fortress, making the prisoners he had taken from Cyrus, his assistants in the work.

When this was done, the eunuch, Gadatas, having settled matters within, came out immediately to Cy-

Digitized by Google

rus, and, having paid him his adoration in the accustomed manner, he said, "Happiness, O Cyrus, and joy to you!" "I have it," said he, 'already; for, with the help of the gods, you not only bespeak joy to me, but you oblige me to rejoice: for, be assured," said he, "I take it to be a thing of great importance, to leave this place to my friends and allies in these parts. Your having of children, Gadatas, is what the Assyrian, it seems, has taken from you; but the power of acquiring friends he has not deprived you of; and, be assured that, by this action, you have made friends of us, who will endeavour, if we are able, to be as good supporters to you, as if you had sons or posterity." Thus he spoke.

Upon this, the Hyrcanian, who had just got notice of what had happened, ran to Cyrus, and taking him by the right had, said, "O how great a blessing, Cyrus, are you to your friends! what a debt of gratitude and thanks do you bring me under to the gods, for having united me to you!" Go then, presently," said Cyrus, "and take possession of the place you are so pleased with me for, and dispose of it in such a manner as it may be of most advantage to your own nation, and to our other allies; but chiefly," said he, "to Gadatas, here, who has taken it, and delivered it up to us." Therefore," said the Hyrcanian, "when the Cadusians, the Sacians, and my countrymen are come, shall we call in this man too, that all we, who are concerned, may consult in common how we may make use of this fortress to the best advantage?" Cyrus applauded the proposal; and, when all that were concerned in the affair of this fortress were met, they jointly determined that it should be kept by those who had an advantage by its being in their interest, that it might be a bulwark and defence to them, and their rampart against the Assyrians.

When this was done, the Cadusians engaged with much more readiness and zeal in the service, as did

Digitized by Google

likewise the Sacians and Hyrcanians; and from that time, there was formed an army of Cadusians, consisting of twenty thousand shield-men, and four thousand horse; of Sacians, an army consisting of ten thousand bow-men on foot, and two thousand on horseback. The Hyrcanians sent out all the foot that they were able, and filled up their horse to the number of two thousand; for most of their horse were at first left behind, because the Cadusians and Sacians were enemies to the Assyrians. And all the time that Cyrus lay employed about the regulating this fortress, many of the Assyrians, in those parts, brought horses, and many brought arms, being afraid of all their neighbours.

Upon this, Gadatas comes to Cyrus, and tells him, that there were messengers arrived, who told him, that the Assyrian, when he was informed of what had passed in the affair of the fortress, was extremely incensed, and made preparations to fall in upon his territory. "Therefore, Cyrus, if you would dismiss me, I would endeavour to save my places of strength; of the rest I make less account." Then Cyrus said, "If you set out now, when shall you be at home?" And Gadatas said, "I shall sup in my own territory the third day." "And do you think," said he, "that you will find the Assyrian already there?" "I know very well," said he, "that I shall; for he will make so much the more haste, as he thinks you to be at the greater distance." "And, in how many days," said Cyrus, "might I get thither with the army?" To this Gadatas said, "O my sovereign, you have a very great army, and you would not be able to reach my habitation in less than six or seven days." "Do you, then," said Cyrus, "go your way as soon as you can, and I will march with all possible dispatch."

Gadatas then went his way, and Cyrus called together all the commanders of his allies; and he seemed now to have a great many, and full of cou-

Digitized by Google

rage: and, in their presence, he spoke to this effect: "Friends and allies, Gadatas has performed such things, as we all judge to be of very great value to us, and this before he has received the least advantage whatever at our hands. It is reported, that the Assyrian is now fallen in upon his territory, with design, it is evident, both to be revenged of him, because he thinks himself to have been highly injured by him, and, perhaps, he considers withal, that if they that revolt to us receive no hurt or damage from him, and if they that take part with him, are destroyed by us, he must, probably, very soon have nobody that will stand by him; therefore, friends, we shall do, in my opinion, a very handsome thing, if we yield our assistance, with readiness and zeal, to Gadatas, a man who has been our benefactor; we should besides do an act of justice, by discharging a debt of gratitude; and, in my opinion, we should, at the same time, do what would be of advantage to ourselves: for if we make it appear, that we endeavour to outdo, in injuries, those that are injurious and hurtful to us, and to exceed our benefactors in good services, it is probable that, by means of such a conduct, many will be willing to be friends to us, and nobody will desire to be our enemy; but if we appear neglectful of Gadatas, in the name of all the gods, with what arguments can we persuade others to do us any kindnesses? how can we dare to commend ourselves? and how can any of us possibly look Gadatas in the face, if we are outdone by him in good offices? we, who are so many, by him who is a single man, and a man in such circumstances?"

Thus he spoke, and they all highly approved it. "Come on then," said he, "since you agree with me in opinion. Let every man of us leave, with the carriages and with the beasts of burden, all those that are the properest to march with them, and let Gobrias command and conduct them; for he is skilled in the roads, and able in every other respect.

Digitized by Google

Let us march with the best of our men and horse, taking necessaries with us for three days; and the lighter and more frugal provision we make, the pleasanter shall we dine and sup, and the pleasanter shall we sleep on the days that follow after. Now let our march be in this manner: let Chrysantas, in the first place, lead those that wear corselets, with all the centurions in front, since the way is level and open; and let each century march one by one in a line; for, by keeping in close order, we shall march with the more dispatch and the more safety. And it is for this reason, that I order those that have corselets to lead, because they make the heaviest part of the army; and, when the heaviest lead the way, of necessity all the lighter follow with ease; but when the lighter and nimbler part leads in the night, it is not at all to be wondered at that the forces disperse; for the body that is at the head runs off from the rest. After these," said he, "let Artabazus lead the Persian shield-men and archers; after these let Andranicas the Mede lead the Median foot: after these, Embas the Armenian foot; after these, Artuchas the Hyrcanians; after these, Thambrydas the Sacian foot; after these, Damatas the Cadusians. Let all these lead with their centurions in front, and with their shield-men upon the right, and their archers upon the left of their own oblong bodies; for, by marching in this manner, they are the more ready for service. After these," said he, "let the baggage servants of the whole army follow. Let their commanders take care of them all, that they have all things ready put up before they sleep, that they attend early in the morning in their appointed posts, and follow in an orderly manner. After the baggage servants," said he, "let Madatas the Persian lead the Persian horse, and let him likewise have the centurions of horse in front; and let the centurion lead his century in a line one after another, in the same manner as the

Digitized by Google

officers of foot. After these, let Rambacas the Mede lead his horse in the same manner. After these, do you, Tygranes, lead your own horse; and so the rest of the commanders of horse, the horse that each of them joined us with. After these, let the Sacians march, and the Cadusians, as they came in to us the last, so let them bring up the rear of the whole army. And do you, Alceuna, that command them, take care to be in the rear of all, and don't suffer any to be behind your horse. And do you, commanders, and all you that are wise, take care to march silently; for it is by means of the ears, rather than the eyes, that all things must of necessity be discovered and transacted in the night. And to be put into disorder is a thing of worse consequence than in the day, and more difficult to be recovered. For this reason, silence must be practised and order preserved. And when you are to settle the night-watches, you ought always to make them as short, and as many as is possible, that much watching upon the night-guard may not exhaust and disable any one for the march; and when the time comes for marching, the signal must be given by the sound of the horn. And do you all attend, ready, upon the road to Babylon, each of you with all things proper. And let him that advances before, always exhort the man behind him to follow."

Upon this they went to their tents, and, in going, discoursed among themselves how great a memory Cyrus had, and how he gave his orders, naming all the persons that he gave directions to. This Cyrus did out of his great care and exactness; for he thought it very strange, that mean artificers should each of them know the names of the tools belonging to their art; and that a physician should know the names of all the medicines and instruments that he uses; but that a general should be such a fool, as not to know the names of the commanders that are under him, and that he must necessarily use as

Digitized by Google

his instruments. And whenever he had a mind to possess himself of any thing, or to preserve it, when he had a mind to raise courage, or to strike a terror, or when he had a mind to do honour to any one, he thought it became him to call the men by their names. And he was of opinion, that they who thought themselves known to their commander, would be the more desirous to be seen performing some noble action, and more zealous to abstain from doing any thing that was base. He thought it very foolish, when one had a mind that any thing should be done, to give orders as some masters in their private families give theirs—"Let somebody go for water—let somebody cleave the wood;" for when such orders were given, he thought that all looked one upon another, and that nobody dispatched the thing that was ordered; and that all were in fault, yet nobody was ashamed or afraid, because the blame was shared amongst several. For these reasons, he named all the persons, when he gave his orders. This was Cyrus's judgment in this matter.

The soldiers, having taken their suppers, settled their watches, and put up all things that were proper, went to rest. When it was midnight, the signal was given by the sound of the horn; and Cyrus, having told Chrysantas that he would wait in the road upon the front of the army, went off, taking his servants with him. In a short time after, Chrysantas came up at the head of those that wore corselets. Cyrus, therefore, giving him guides, ordered him to march gently on till a messenger came to him, for they were not yet all upon the march. He, standing in the same place, dismissed away, in order, those that came up, and sent off, to call forward those that were dilatory. When they were all upon the march, he sent certain horsemen to Chrysantas, to tell him, that all were now upon the march. Lead on, therefore, with more dispatch! He himself, on horseback, putting forward towards the van-

Digitized by Google

front, observed, at leisure, the several bodies, and those that he saw marching orderly and silently, he rode up to, and enquired who they were; and, when he was informed, he commended them: but if he perceived any of them to be tumultuous, he enquired into the cause of it, and endeavoured to allay the disturbance.

There is only one part of his care in the night that has been omitted; which is, that, at the head of the whole army, he sent out certain light and expeditious foot, not many in number, that Chrysantas was to keep within the reach of his eye, and were to keep Chrysantas within the reach of theirs; who getting notices of things by the ear, or if, by any other means, able to receive any intelligence, were to signify to Chrysantas what the occasion seemed to require. There was one commander over them, who kept them in order, and notified what was worthy of notice, and what was not so, he gave no disturbance by the telling. And thus he marched in the night.

But when it was day, he left the Cadusian horse with the Cadusian foot, because they marched the last, and that they might not march naked without horse. But the rest of the horse he ordered to push forward to the front, because the enemy were before them; and that, in case any opposed him, he might meet and engage them with his forces in order under him; and that if any were seen flying, he might be in the greatest readiness for the pursuit. And he had always ready, in order, both those that were to pursue, if pursuit were proper, as well as those that were to remain by him; but the general order of the whole he never suffered to be broke. Thus Cyrus led the army. He himself was not always in the same station, but, riding about here and there, kept viewing, and, where any thing was deficient, took care of it.

Thus did Cyrus's men march. But a certain

Digitized by Google

person, one of authority and consideration, belonging to Gadatas's body of horse, as soon as he saw that he had revolted from the Assyrian, concluded that, if any misfortune happened to Gadatas, he himself might obtain from the Assyrian all that belonged to Gadatas. So he sent one of the most trusty of his people to the Assyrian; and he ordered the man that went, if he found the Assyrian army already in Gadatas's territory, to tell the Assyrian, that if he would form an ambuscade, he might take Gadatas and all that were with him. He ordered the man to tell what force Gadatas had, and that Cyrus did not go with him; and he told him the road that he intended to take. Besides, that he might be the more readily trusted, he sent orders to his servants, to deliver up to the Assyrian the fort that he had the possession of, in the territory of Gadatas, and all that was in it. He said, that he would come himself, and, if he was able, it should be after he had killed Gadatas; but, if he could not do that, it should be to attend upon the Assyrian for the future. When the person appointed for this service, having rode with all possible speed, was come to the Assyrian, and had declared the purpose of his coming, the Assyrian, having heard it, immediately seized the fort; and, having a great force, both of horse and chariots, he lay in ambuscade in certain villages that stood very close together. Gadatas, as soon as he approached these villages, sent some people to examine and make discovery. The Assyrian, when he found these discoverers approaching, ordered two or three chariots and a few horse to quit their post, and betake themselves to flight, as being terrified and but few in number. The discoverers themselves, as soon as they saw this, pursued, and made signs to Gadatas. He, being thus deceived, pursued with all his might. The Assyrians, when they thought Gadatas within reach of being taken, broke out from their ambuscade. They that were

Digitized by Google

with Gadatas, seeing this, fled, as was natural for them to do; the others likewise, as was natural, pursued. Upon this the contriver of this affair, against Gadatas, struck at him, but missed the mortal blow, hit him upon the shoulder, and wounded him; and, having done this, he made off, to join the pursuers. When it was known who he was, he, pressing his horse on with a great deal of zeal, in company with the Assyrians, attended the pursuit with the king. It is plain that, upon this occasion, they that had the slowest horses were taken by those that had the fleetest. And all Gadatas's horse, having before been harrassed by their march, were quite spent. When they saw Cyrus advancing with his army, one must needs think they made up to them with as much joy and pleasure, as if they were entering a harbour after a storm.

Cyrus was at first astonished, but when he understood what the matter was, he led the army forward, in order, during the whole time that all these men, that faced him, were riding up towards him. But when the enemy, understanding how things were, turned and fled, then Cyrus commanded those that were appointed to that purpose to pursue. He himself followed with the rest, in the manner that he thought proper. Upon this occasion, several chariots were taken, some by means of the drivers falling off, and this partly by being overturned, partly by other means, and some were taken by being intercepted by the horse; and they killed a great many, and amongst them the man that struck Gadatas. Of the Assyrian foot, that were besieging the fortress of Gadatas, some fled to the fort that had revolted from Gadatas, and some escaped to a considerable city, that belonged to the Assyrian, and whither the Assyrian himself, with his chariots and horses, fled.

Cyrus, having done this, retired into the territory of Gadatas, and having given his orders to the pro-

Digitized by Google

per persons upon the subject of the prisoners, he presently went to see how Gadatas was of his wound; and, as he was going, Gadatas met him with his wound already bound up. Cyrus was pleased at the sight of him, and said, "I was going to see how you did." "And I, by the gods," said Gadatas, "was going again to view the outward form of the man who has such a soul! you who are not, that I know, in any manner of need of me, who never promised to do these things for me; who, as to your own particular, never received any benefit whatever from me; and, only because I was thought to have done a service to your friends, have so affectionately assisted me. So that, as far as I was concerned myself, I had now perished, but am by your means saved. By the gods, Cyrus, if I were the same that I was originally, and were in the condition of children, I don't think that I could ever have a son so affectionate to me. For I know this present king of the Assyrians particularly to have been the cause of more affliction to his father, than he can be now to you, and many other sons the same."

To this Cyrus said, "Now, Gadatas, do you admire me, and pass by a much greater wonder!" "And what is that?" said Gadatas. "That so many Persians," said he, "have been so diligent in your service, so many Medes, so many Hyrcanians, as well as all these Armenians, Sacians, and Cadusians, here present." Then Gadatas made this prayer: "O Jove! may the gods bestow many blessings upon them, but most upon him who is the cause of their being such men! And that we may handsomely entertain these men that you commend, Cyrus, accept these presents of friendship, which are such as I am able to tender you." At the same time he brought him great abundance and variety of things, that he might make a sacrifice, if he pleased, or entertain the whole army suitably to things so nobly performed, and so happily succeeding.

Digitized by Google

Meanwhile the Cadusian still made the rear-guard, and had no share in the pursuit; but, being desirous to perform something himself that was conspicuous, he made an excursion into the territory of Babylon, without communicating it, or saying any thing of it to Cyrus. But the Assyrian, from that city of his, whither he had fled, and with his army entirely together, and in order, coming up with the horse of the Cadusian, that were dispersed, as soon as he knew them to be the Cadusians alone, attacks them, kills their commander and a great many others, takes a great many horses, and takes from them the booty that they were carrying off. The Assyrian then, after having pursued as far as he thought it safe, turned back, and the Cadusians made their escape to the camp, where the first of them arrived towards the evening.

Cyrus, as soon as he perceived what had happened, went and met the Cadusians, and of all that he saw wounded, some he took and sent to Gadatas, that they might be taken care of, and others he lodged together in tents, and took care that they had all things necessary, taking some of the Persian alike-honoured to be his assistants; for, upon such occasions, men of worth are willing to bestow their joint pains: he evidently appeared to be extremely afflicted; so that, while others were taking their suppers, when the time for it was come, Cyrus, attended by servants and physicians, willingly left no one neglected, but either saw, with his own eyes, or if he could not dispatch all himself, he was observed to send others to take that care upon them. Thus then they went to rest.

As soon as it was day, having made proclamation, that the commanders of the other nations, and all the Cadusians in general, should assemble, he spoke to this effect: "Friends and allies, the misfortune that has happened to us, is what human nature is liable to; for, in my opinion, it is not to be wonder-

Digitized by Google

ed at, that, being men, we should be guilty of error. However, we are not unworthy of reaping some advantage by this accident; and that is, to learn never to separate from the whole a smaller force than that of the enemy. Yet, I do not say," said he, "that we are never to march, where it is proper, with a part, even yet less than the Cadusian marched with, upon this occasion. But if a man march, after having concerted matters with another, who is able to support him, he may, indeed, be deceived; but, he that remains behind, by deceiving the enemy, may turn them to another part, and out of the way of those that have marched off; it is possible for him to procure safety to his friends, by giving other employment to his enemies; and thus, he that separates, does not become entirely disjoined, but remains annexed to the main strength of the whole. He, on the other side, that marches off without giving any information whither it is that he is going, is, in the same case, as if he made war alone. But," said he, "if it please God, it shall not be long before we have our revenge of the enemy, in return of this. And, as soon as ever you have dined, I will lead you out to the place where this affair was transacted; we will bury our dead at the same time, if it please God; we will let the enemy see men superior to themselves, upon the very place where they think they have been victorious, that they may not look with pleasure upon that spot of ground where they butchered our fellow-combatants. If they will not come out to us, we will burn their villages and destroy their country, that they may not be delighted, upon viewing what they themselves have done, but be afflicted at the sight of their own misfortunes. Let the rest then," said he, "go take their dinners; and do you, Cadusians, first go your ways, and choose you a commander according to your usage, who, with the help of the gods, and together with us, shall take care of you, in whatever may be wanting to you; and

Digitized by Google

when you have made your choice and taken your dinners, then send the person you have chosen to me."

These men did accordingly. And Cyrus, when he had led out the army, and placed the person who was chosen by the Cadusians in his station, ordered him to lead his body of men near to himself, "That if we are able," said he, "we may recover the courage of the men." So they marched, and coming up to the place, they buried the Cadusians, and laid the country waste. And having done this, and supplied themselves with necessaries, out of the enemy's country, they again retreated into the territory of Gadatas.

But then, considering that they who had revolted to him, being in the neighbourhood of Babylon, would suffer severely, unless he himself was always at hand, he, therefore, commanded all those of the enemy that he dismissed, to tell the Assyrian, that he himself sent a herald to declare to him, that he was ready to let the labourers that were employed in the culture of the lands alone, and not to do them any injury; if he, on the other side, would allow such labourers as belonged to those that had revolted to himself, to go on with their work; and, indeed, said he, if you are able to hinder them, you will hinder but a few, for the land that belongs to those that have revolted to me, is but little; and, on the other side, I should allow a great quantity of land to be cultivated for you. Then, at the time of gathering the crop, if the war continues, he that is superior in arms, in my opinion, must gather it. If there be peace, it is plain, said he, that it must be you; but if any of my people use arms against you, or any of yours against me, upon these, we will both of us return mutual hostilities, if we can. Having given the herald these orders, he sent him away.

And when the Assyrians had heard these things, they did all that they were able to persuade the king to yield to them, and to leave as little of the war re-

Digitized by Google

maining as was possible. The Assyrian, either at the persuasion of those of his nation, or inclined to it himself, consented: and agreements were made, that there should be peace to those that were employed in labour, and war to those that bore arms. These things did Cyrus effect with respect to the labouring people. But the pastures of their cattle, he ordered his own friends to settle, if they thought fit, within the extent of their own power, and to make prey upon the enemy, wherever they were able, that the service might be more agreeable to his allies, for the dangers were the same, even without their seizing necessaries for their subsistence, and the maintaining themselves upon the enemy, seemed to make the service the lighter.

But when Cyrus was now preparing to be gone, Gadatas came to him, having collected presents of all kinds, and in great abundance, as arising from a very great estate, and having taken a great many horses from his own horsemen that he mistrusted, upon the account of the late contrivance against him: and when he accosted him, he spoke thus: "I bring you these things, Cyrus, at this time, that you may make present use of them, in case you want them. And count upon it," said he, "that all things else that belong to me are yours; for it is impossible for me to have one, descended from myself, to leave my estate to; but my race and name," said he, "must, of necessity, be extinguished with myself, when I die. And this I suffer, Cyrus," said he, "(I swear it to you, by the gods, who see all things, and hear all things,) without having been guilty of any thing unjust or base, either in word or deed." At the same time that he said this, he burst out into tears at his unhappy fate, and it was not in his power to say more.

Cyrus, having heard this, pitied him for his misfortune, and spoke thus: "The horses," said he, "I accept; for I shall do you service, by giving them

Digitized by Google

to men better affected to you, it seems, than they who had them before; and shall fill up the Persian body of horse to ten thousand men, a thing that I have long desired; the rest of your valuable effects do you take away, and keep, till such time as you see me in a condition not to be outdone by you in presents: for, if you part with me, and your presents amount to more than you receive at my hands, I know not how it is possible for me not to be quite ashamed."

To this Gadatas said, "But I trust them to you, for I see your temper. As to the keeping of them myself, pray, see whether I am fit for it: for, while we were friends with the Assyrian, my father's estate seemed to be the noblest that could be; for, being near to our capital city, Babylon, we enjoyed all the advantages that we could possibly be supplied with from that great city; and as often as we were disturbed with the crowd and hurry, by retiring hither to our home, we got out of the way of it. But, now that we are become enemies, it is plain that, when you are gone, both we ourselves, and our whole family and estate, shall have contrivances formed against us. We shall, in my opinion, live very miserably, both by having our enemies just by us, and by seeing them superior to ourselves. Perhaps you will presently, therefore, say, and why did not I consider this before I revolted? Why, because, Cyrus, by means of the injuries I had received, and the anger I was in, my soul never dwelt upon the consideration of what was safest for me; but was always big with the thought, whether it would be ever in my power to take my revenge upon this enemy both to the gods and men, who passes his days in hatred, and that not to the man that may have done him an injury, but to any one that he suspects to be a better man than himself. And this wicked wretch, therefore, in my opinion, will make use of such assistants as are all more wicked than himself; or, if

Digitized by Google

there be any that may appear to be better than he, take courage, Cyrus," said he, "you will not be under any necessity to engage against any such men of worth; but he himself will be sufficient to carry on this work, till he has taken off every better man than himself; and yet, distressing me, I am of opinion that, with his villains, he will easily get the better."

In all this, Cyrus, who heard it, was of opinion, that the man said what was worthy of his attention and care; and he presently said, "And have not you, therefore, strengthened your fortress with a garrison, that you may make use of it with safety, when you got thither? And as to yourself, you accompany us in the service, that, if the gods please to be with us, as now they are, he may be in fear of you, and not you of him. Take of what belongs to you, whatever you like to see about you, and of your people, take whoever you like to converse with, and march with me. You will be, in my opinion, extremely useful to me, and I will endeavour to be as useful to you as I can."

Gadatas, hearing this, recovered himself, and said, "Shall I be able," said he, "to put up all, and be ready before you march away? for," said he, "I would willingly carry my mother with me. "Yes, by Jove," said he, "you will be ready time enough; for I will wait till you say, that all is well." So Gadatas, going his way, settled, in concert with Cyrus, garrisons in the several fortresses he had made: he packed up all kinds of things, enough to furnish a very great house in a handsome manner. He took with him, from amongst these he confided in, such whose company he was pleased with; and many of those too that he distrusted, obliging some of them to take their wives, and some their sisters with them, that, by their means, he might keep them, as it were, in fetters.

Cyrus himself marched, and amongst the rest of those that were about him, he kept Gadatas to in-

Digitized by Google

form him about the ways and the waters, about forage and provisions, that he might carry on the service with the greatest plenty of all things. But when, in the course of his march, he got sight of the city of Babylon, and fancied that the way he was going led him just under the walls of the place, he called Gobrias and Gadatas, and asked if there was any other way, that he might not lead the army near to the wall.

Then Gobrias spoke, "My sovereign, there are many ways; but I thought," said he, "that you desired to lead on as near to the city as possible, that you might show them the army, and let them see that you have now a great and a noble one; because, when you had a less, you marched up to the walls, and they saw us when we were not very numerous. And now, though the Assyrian be prepared, as he told you he would be prepared to give you battle, I know that, when he sees your strength, his preparations will not appear to him to be sufficient."

Cyrus to this said, "You seem to me, Gobrias, to wonder that, when I came with a less army, I led up to the very walls; but that now, with a greater, I have no mind to march the army under them: but make no wonder of this," said he, "for to lead up to a place, and to march by it, is not the same thing. All men lead up in such an order as they think is best for them to engage in. And people that are wise, retreat so as to go off in the safest manner, and not in the quickest. But it is necessary to march by with the carriages extended in length, and with the beasts of burthen, and those that are concerned in the baggage, all in loose order; all this must be covered by the soldiers that bear arms, and the baggage-train must, in no part, appear to the enemy naked of arms; and, marching in this manner, the strength of the army must of necessity be extended into a thin and weak order. If then they have a mind, from within the walls, to make an at-

Digitized by Google

tack in a close, firm body, wherever they close in, they do it with a strength much superior to those that are upon the march, and to men that are marching in a train at length, the proper helps are at a great distance; but, to those that march out from within their walls, the distance is little that they have either to march up to the enemy that is at hand, or to retreat back again; but if we pass by at no less a distance than so as that they may just see us, and if we march extended, as we now are, they will see the multitude that we are, and every multitude, by means of arms interwoven amongst them, appears terrible. If they really do march up to us in any part, by our seeing them at a considerable distance, we shall not be taken unprepared; and then, my friends," said he, "they will the rather avoid attacking us, when they are obliged to march a great distance from their walls, unless they think themselves, in the whole, superior to us, for they will have cause to be in fear for their retreat."

When he had said this, the persons present were of opinion that he said right, and Gobrias led the way, as he had directed him. And while the army was moving on by the city, that part of it that was left behind he always made the strongest, and in that manner retreated.

When marching thus the following days, he reached the borders of the Assyrians and Medes, from whence he came before, and where there were three forts belonging to the Assyrians; the weakest of these he attacked, and took by force, and two of them, Cyrus by terror, and Gadatas by persuasion, prevailed with the garrisons to give up. When he had done this, he sent to Cyaxares, and by message, desired him to come to the army, that they might consult what use to make of the forts they had taken. And, after having taken a view of the army, he might, in the whole of their affairs, advise what he thought proper to be done for the future.

Digitized by Google

"And, if he orders it," said he, "tell him that I will come and encamp with him." The messenger, in order to deliver this message, went his way; and upon this, Cyrus ordered Gadatas to furnish out the Assyrian's tent, that the Medes had chosen for Cyaxares, and this in the handsomest manner; and not only with all the other furniture that it was provided with, but he ordered him to introduce the two women into that apartment of the tent that belonged to the women, and, together with them, the women musicians that had been chosen out for Cyaxares. These men did as they were ordered. But when he, that was sent to Cyaxares, had delivered his message, Cyaxares, having heard him, determined it to be best, that the army should remain upon the borders; for the Persians, that Cyrus had sent for, were come, and they were forty thousand archers and shield-men. Therefore, when he saw that these men did prejudice, in many ways, to the Median territory, he thought it better to get rid of these, rather than admit another multitude. And that Persian, who commanded the army, having enquired from Cyaxares, according to the orders of Cyrus, whether he had any service for the army, when he told him that he had none, and when he heard that Cyrus was at hand, upon that very day marched, and conducted the army to him. The next day Cyaxares marched with the Median horse that remained with him; and as soon as Cyrus perceived him approaching, then taking the Persian horse, who were now very numerous, all the Medes, Armenians, and Hyrcanians, and of all the other allies, such as were the best horsed and armed, he met him, and showed Cyaxares his force.

Cyaxares, when he saw a great many brave men attending Cyrus, and but a small company attending upon himself, and those but of little value, thought it mean and dishonourable to him, and was seized with a violent concern. But when Cyrus

Digitized by Google

alighting from his horse, came up to him, as intending to kiss him in the customary manner, Cyaxares likewise alighted, but turned from him, refused to kiss him, and burst openly into tears. Upon this Cyrus ordered all the rest that were there to retire and wait. He himself, taking Cyaxares by the right hand, and conducting him out of the road, under certain palm-trees, he ordered some Median quilts to be laid for him, and making him sit down, he sat himself down by him, and asked him thus:

"O uncle," said he, "tell me, I beg you, by all the gods, what are you angry with me for? And what ill thing have you discovered, that you take thus amiss?" Then Cyaxares answered in this manner: "It is, Cyrus," said he, "that I, who as far as the memory of man can reach, am reckoned to be sprung from a long train of ancestors, and from a father who was a king, and who am myself accounted a king, should see myself marching thus, meanly and contemptibly, and see you, with my attendance, and with other forces, appear here great and conspicuous. I should think it hard to suffer this treatment at the hands of enemies, and much harder, O Jove, to suffer it at the hands of those that I ought least to have it from; for, I think, I could sink down under the earth ten times over with more satisfaction, than be seen in this mean condition, and see my own people thus contemning and laughing at me: for I am not ignorant, not only that you are more considerable than myself, but that my own slaves are above me in power, dare to oppose my pleasure, and are so set up as to be rather able to do me mischief, than liable to suffer it at my hands." And, in saying this, he was still more overwhelmed in tears, so that he drew down a flood of tears into the eyes of Cyrus.

But Cyrus, pausing a little, spoke to this effect: "In all this," said he, "Cyaxares, you neither say true nor judge right. If you think that the Medes,

Digitized by Google

by my presence, are set upon such a foot, as to be able to do you mischief, I do not wonder that you are enraged and terrified. But, whether it be justly or unjustly that you are offended at them, this I shall pass by; for I know you must take it ill to hear me making their apology. But for a ruler to take offence at all his people at once, this I take to be an error; for, by striking terror into a multitude, of necessity that multitude must be made one's enemies, and by taking offence at them all together, they are inspired with unity of sentiments. Upon this account, be it known to you, it was, that I would not send these men away to you without me, being afraid lest something might happen by means of your anger, that might have afflicted us all. By the assistance of the gods, therefore, while I am present, these things may be safely composed. But that you should think yourself injured by me, at this I am very much concerned, that while I have been doing all that is in my power to do all possible service to my friends, I am then thought to have done quite the contrary; but don't let us thus charge one another at random, but, if possible, let us consider clearly what the injury is that I have done. I will state then an agreement for us to come to, and such as is the justest that can be between friends. If I shall appear to have done you mischief, I will confess that I have wronged you; but if I neither appear to have done you any harm, nor to have intended it, will not you then confess that you have not been wronged by me?" "I must," said he, "of necessity." "If I plainly appear to have done you service, and to have been zealous to do you all the service that I was able, shall not I deserve your commendation, rather than your reproach?" "It is but just," said he. "Come on then," said Cyrus, "let us consider all the things that I have done, one by one, for by all this it will appear, the most evidently, which was good and which was ill. We will

Digitized by Google

take it from the beginning of this affair, if this appear to you to be sufficient. When you perceived that the enemy were assembling their forces, and were about making an attempt upon you, and upon your country, you then sent immediately to the public council of Persia, begging assistance, and to me in particular, desiring me to endeavour, if any Persians came to you, to come as their commander. Was not I, by you persuaded to this? Did not I come, and bring you as many and as brave men as I was able?" "You did come," said he. "First, therefore," said he, "in this particular, tell me whether you accounted it an injury or a benefit that I did you." "It is plain," said Cyaxares, "that in this you did what was a benefit to me." "Well then," said he, "when the enemies advanced, and we were to engage them, did you perceive that, upon this occasion, I spared any pains, or that I balked any danger." "No, by Jove," said he, "not at all." "And then, when, with the assistance of the gods, we gained our victory, and the enemy retreated, I exhorted you, that we might jointly pursue them, take our joint revenge upon them, and if any thing good or ill should befal us, that we might jointly share it? And can you charge me with any thing of ambition, and desire of power, in any of these things?" To this Cyaxares was silent, and Cyrus again spoke in this manner: "Since it is your pleasure to be silent in this, rather than to give me a reply, tell me then," said he, "whether you think yourself injured, because that, when you were of opinion that it was not safe to pursue, I did not allow you to share in the danger, but only desired you to send some of your horse? For if I wronged you in asking this, especially after I had given myself up to you, as an assistant and ally, let this," said he, "be demonstrated by yourself." When Cyaxares kept himself silent to this too.—

Digitized by Google

"But," said he, "if you will give me no answer here neither, then tell me this: Whether I did you any wrong, when you gave me for answer, that, upon your observing the Medes to be indulging themselves in pleasure, you would not put a stop to it, and oblige them to march, and run themselves into danger? and whether you think that I put a hardship upon you, when, avoiding all anger and resentment to you, I then again, upon that, asked you a thing, than which I knew there was nothing that you could more easily grant, and that nothing more easy could possibly be enjoined the Medes? For I asked you, only to allow any of them, that would, to follow me: and when I had obtained this from you, there was nothing left but to persuade them. I went to them; I persuaded them, and those that I prevailed with I took, and marched with them at your allowance. If you reckon this to be deserving of blame, then to take from you what you yourself grant, is not, it seems, a thing void of blame. Thus then we set forward. When we were marched, what was there that we did that was not apparent? Was not the camp of the enemy taken? Were there not many of those, that made war upon you, killed? and of those that remained alive, were there not a great many stripped of their arms, and a great many of their horses? The fortunes and effects of those that plundered and ravaged yours before, you see now taken and ravaged by your friends. Some of them belong to you, and others of them to those that are under your dominion. But what is the greatest and noblest thing, and above all, is, that you see your own territory enlarged, and that of your enemies diminished; and some forts, that were possessed by the enemy, and some of your own, that had been taken and annexed to the Assyrian dominion, now, on the contrary, you see yielded to you. Whether any of these things be good or ill, I can-

Digitized by Google

not say, that I desire to learn. But nothing hinders me from hearing what your opinion is concerning them, and do you tell it me."

Cyrus, having said this, was silent, and waited the reply.

And Cyaxares spoke thus in answer. "Indeed, Cyrus, I do not know how one can say those things you have performed are ill, but be it known to you," said he, "that these good things are of such a kind, as the more they appear to be in number, so much the more are they burdensome upon me. I should rather choose to enlarge your territory by my forces, than see mine thus enlarged by yours. For these things, to you that do them, are glorious, but to me they are, in some sort disgraceful. And I am of opinion, that I should be better pleased to bestow of these rich effects upon you, than to receive from you these things that you now present me with; for I perceive myself enriched by you with things that make me the poorer; and I believe I should be less grieved to see my subjects, in some degree, injured by you, than I am now, to see them receiving great advantages at your hands. If I appear to you to think unreasonably in this, do not consider these things as in my case, but turn the tables, and make the case your own. And then," said he, "consider that, in the case of dogs, that you maintained as a guard and protection to you and yours; supposing any other person should make his court to them, and should make them better acquainted with himself than with you, whether you should be pleased with this courtship and service. But, if this appear to you to be but an inconsiderable matter, then consider this: you have servants, that you have acquired as guards to you, and for service, if any one should manage these in such a manner, as that they should be more willing to serve him than to serve you, should you think yourself obliged to this man, in return of this benefit? Then in another concern,

Digitized by Google

that men's affections are greatly engaged in, and that they cultivate in the most intimate manner: if any one should make such court to your wife, as to make her love him better than she loved you, should you be delighted with this benefit? I believe, far from it," said he; "nay, I know that, in doing this, he would do you the greatest of injuries. But that I may mention what is most applicable to my concern: if any one should make such court to the Persians, that you have conducted hither, as should make it more agreeable to them to follow him than to follow you, should you think this man your friend? I believe you would not, but you would rather think him yet more your enemy, than if he killed you a great many of them. Well then; suppose any friend of yours, upon your saying to him, in a friendly way, take as much of what belongs to me as you please, should, hearing this, go his way, take all that he was able, and enrich himself with what belonged to you, and that you, meanwhile, should not have wherewithal to supply your own uses in a very moderate way; could you possibly think such a one a blameless unexceptionable friend? Now, Cyrus, I take myself to have had from you, if not the same usage, yet such as is very like it. You say true, that, when I bid you carry off those that were willing to go, you took my whole force, went off with them, and left me destitute; and now you bring me things that you have taken with my own force; and, with my own force, you enlarge my territory. But I, as not having any hand in obtaining these advantages, look as if I gave up myself, like a woman, to be served by others as well as by my own subjects; for you appear to be the man, and I to be unworthy of rule; and do you take these things, Cyrus, to be benefits? Be it known to you, if you had any concern for me, there is nothing you would be so careful not to rob me of as of my dignity and honour. What advantage is it to me, to have my land extended and myself

Digitized by Google

contemned? I have dominion over the Medes, not by being really the best of them all, but by means of their thinking us to be, in all respects, superior to themselves."

Here Cyrus took up the discourse, while Cyaxares was yet speaking, and said, "I beg you, uncle," said he, "by all the gods, if I ever before did any thing that was agreeable to you, gratify me now in the things that I shall ask of you. Give over blaming me at this time; and when you have had experience of us, how we are affected towards you, if the things that have been done appear done for your service, give me your embraces in return of the affection I have for you, and think that I have been of service to you. If things appear otherwise, then blame me."

"Perhaps, indeed," said Cyaxares, "you say right." "Well then," said Cyrus, "shall I kiss you?" "If you please," said he. "And will you not turn from me, as you did just now?" "I will not," said he. Then he kissed him.

As soon as this was seen by the Medes and Persians, and many others, (for they were all under concern about the issue of this affair) they all presently became cheerful and pleased.

Then Cyaxares and Cyrus, mounting their horses, led the way before: the Medes followed after Cyaxares, (for Cyrus made a sign to them to do so,) and the Persians followed Cyrus, and after these followed the rest. When they came to the camp, and had lodged Cyaxares in the tent that was furnished for him, they that were appointed to that service, prepared all things fitting for him. And during the time that Cyaxares was at leisure, before supper, the Medes went to him, some of themselves, but most of them in consequence of directions from Cyrus, and they brought him presents; one a beautiful cup-bearer, another an excellent cook, another a baker, another a musician, one brought him cups,

Digitized by Google

and another a fine habit. And almost every one presented him with something out of what they had taken; so that Cyaxares changed his opinion, and no longer thought either that Cyrus had alienated these men from him, or that the Medes were less observant of him than before.

When the time of supper came, Cyaxares invited Cyrus, and desired that, since he had not seen him for some time, he would sup with him; but Cyrus said, "I beg, Cyaxares, that you would not bid me do this. Do not you observe, that all those that are here with us, attend here at our instigation? It would not, therefore, be well in me to appear negligent of them, and mindful of my own pleasure. When soldiers think themselves neglected, the best of them become much more dejected, and the worst of them much more insolent. But do you, especially now after you have had a long journey, take your supper; and if people come to pay you respect, receive them kindly, and entertain them well, that they likewise may encourage you. I will go my ways, and apply myself to what I tell you. To-morrow," said he, "in the morning, all the proper persons shall attend here, at your doors, that we may consult together, what we are to do henceforward. And you, being yourself present, will propose to us, whether it be thought fit to go on with the war, or whether it be now the proper time to separate the army." Upon this Cyaxares went to supper.

And Cyrus, assembling such of his friends as were most able to judge what was fit to be done upon any occasion, and to assist him in the execution of it, spoke to this effect: "The things that we at first wished for, my friends, we now, with the assistance of the gods, have obtained; for, wherever we march, we are masters of the country, we see our enemies weakened, and ourselves increased in numbers and strength. And if they, who are now our allies, will

Digitized by Google

still continue with us, we shall be much more able to succeed in our affairs, whether we have occasion to act by force, or whether it be proper to proceed by persuasion; therefore, that as many of our allies as is possible may be inclined to stay, is not more my business to effect than it is yours. But as, when fighting is necessary, he that subdues the greatest numbers, will be accounted the most vigorous; so, where counsel is necessary, he that makes the greatest numbers to be of his opinion, ought justly to be esteemed the most eloquent and best skilled in affairs. However, do not be at pains, as if you were to show us what sort of discourse you made use of to every one, but that the people you prevail with may show it in their actions, let this be your business to effect. And that the soldiers, while they consult about the carrying on of the war, shall be supplied with all things necessary and fit, in as great plenty as I am able, this I will endeavour to take care of."

Digitized by Google

CYROPÆDIA;

OR, THE

INSTITUTION OF CYRUS.

BOOK VI.

HAVING passed the day in this manner, and having taken their suppers, they went to rest. The next day, in the morning, all the allies came to the doors of Cyaxares; and, while Cyaxares (who had heard that there was a great multitude of people at his doors) was setting himself out, Cyrus's friends presented to him several people, who begged him to stay; some presented the Cadusians, some the Hyrcanians; one presented Gobrias, and another the Sacian; and Hystaspes presented the eunuch Gadatas, who begged Cyrus to stay. Here Cyrus, who knew before that Gadatas had been almost killed with fear, lest the army should be separated, laughed, and spoke thus: "O Gadatas," said he, "it is plain that you have been persuaded by Hystaspes here to be of the opinion you express." Then Gadatas, lifting up his hands to heaven, swore, that "indeed he was not persuaded by Hystaspes to be of this opinion; but I know," said he, "that if you, depart, my affairs fall entirely to ruin. Upon this account," said he, "I came myself to this man, and

Digitized by Google

asked him, whether he knew what your opinion was concerning the separation of the army." Then Cyrus said, "It seems then that I accuse Hystaspes unjustly?" Then Hystaspes spoke, "By Jove, Cyrus," said he, "unjustly indeed; because I gave Gadatas for answer, that it was impossible for you to stay, and told him that your father had sent for you." "What," said Cyrus, "durst you assert this, whether I would or no?" "Yes, indeed," said he; "for I see you are exceedingly desirous to be making a progress about, among the Persians, to be seen and to show your father how you performed every thing." Then Cyrus said, "And are not you desirous to go home?" "No, by Jove," said Hystaspes, nor will I go, but stay and discharge my duty as a commander, till I make Gadatas here master of the Assyrian." Thus did these men, with a mixture of seriousness, jest with each other.

Then Cyaxares, dressed in a magnificent manner, came out, and sat himself on a Median throne; and when all the proper persons were met, and silence made, Cyaxares spoke thus: "Friends and allies, since I am here present, and am an older man than Cyrus, it is proper for me, perhaps, to begin the discourse. It appears, therefore, to me, that now is the time to debate whether it be thought proper to go on with the war, or to separate the army. Therefore," said he, "let somebody speak what his opinion is concerning this affair." Upon this the Hyrcanian first spoke; "Friends and allies, I don't at all know whether words be necessary where facts themselves declare what is best to be done; for we all know that, by keeping together, we do more mischief to our enemies than we suffer from them; and, when we are asunder, they deal by us as is most agreeable to them, and most grievous to us." After him spoke the Cadusian: "What can we say," said he, "concerning a general departure and separation, when it is not for our interest to separate,

Digitized by Google

even while we are engaged in the service; accordingly we not long ago undertook a piece of service, separate from the rest of our body, and paid for it as you all know."

After him, Artabazus, he who had said that he was related to Cyrus, spoke thus: "Cyaxares," said he, "thus much I differ in my opinion from those who spoke before. They say, that we ought to proceed in the war, remaining here together; and I say, that we were in war when we were at home, for I was frequently forced to run to the relief of our own country, when the enemies were plundering what belonged to us: frequently I had business upon my hands, with respect to our fortresses, that the enemies were said to have formed designs upon, and I was continually in fear, and kept myself upon my guard. All this I did, and was all this while upon expence out of my own stock; but now I am in possession of the fortresses of the enemy, I am not in fear of them: I feast upon what belongs to them, and I drink at the enemy's expence; therefore, as being in one case at war, and in the other case as at a festival, I am not of opinion to dissolve this public assembly." After him spoke Gobrias: "Friends and allies, thus far I applaud the faith of Cyrus, for he has been false in nothing that he has promised. But, if he quit the country, it is plain that the Assyrian will be at rest, and escape the punishment due to him, for the injuries that he endeavoured to do you, and that he has in fact done me; and I, on my side, shall again suffer punishment at his hands, and now it will be for having been a friend to you."

After all these Cyrus spoke. "Nor am I ignorant, friends, that, if we separate the army, our own affairs will sink, and the affairs of the enemy will rise again; for as many of them as have had their arms taken from them, will make others out of hand; they that have lost their horses, will immediately

Digitized by Google

get others; in the room of those men that are killed, others will grow up and succeed them; so that it will not be to be wondered at, if they become able to give us disturbance again very soon. Why then did I desire Cyaxares to propose the debate upon the separation of the army? Be it known to you," said he, "it was because I was in fear for the future; for I perceive certain adversaries advancing upon us, that, if we go on with the war, upon the foot we now stand, we shall not be able to struggle with. For the winter is coming on, and if we have roofs to cover our own heads, we have them not, by Jove, for our horses, nor for our servants, nor for the common soldiers; and, without these, we cannot proceed in the service. The provisions, wherever we have come, have been consumed by ourselves, and where we have not been, there, for fear of us, they have been carried off, and secured in fortresses; so that the enemies have them, and we are not able to procure them. And who is there that has bravery and vigour enough to go on with the service, and struggle, at the same time, with hunger and cold, therefore, if we are to continue the war upon these terms, I say, that we ought rather to separate the army of our own accord, than be driven away, against our wills, by distress, and by not knowing what to do. But, if we have a mind to go on still with the war, I say we ought to do this: we should endeavour, as soon as possible, to take from the enemy as many of their strong places as we are able, and to erect as many places of strength as we can for ourselves. For, if this be done, then they will have provisions in the greatest plenty, who can take and secure the most of them, and they that are inferior in strength will be besieged. But now we are just in the same case with those that are upon a voyage at sea; for the part that they have sailed over, they do not leave so as to make it safer for them, than the other part that

Digitized by Google

they have not sailed; but, if we have fortresses, these will alienate the territory from the enemy, and all things will be with us serene and quiet. As for what some of you may be apprehensive of, in case you are obliged to keep garrison at a distance from your own territory, do not let this be any concern to you; for we will take upon us to guard those parts that are the nearest to the enemy, since we are at a great distance from home. And do you take possession of the borders between you and the Assyrian territory, and cultivate them. And, if we are able to guard and preserve those parts that are in the enemy's neighbourhood, you, who keep those other parts that are at a greater distance from them, will certainly live in great peace and quiet; for I do not believe that they can think of forming designs upon you that are at a distance, and neglect dangers that are at hand."

After this had been said, all the rest of them, rising up, declared, that they would join heartily in putting these things in execution. And Cyaxares, Gadatas, and Gobrias said, that if the allies would give them leave, they would each of them build a fort, that the allies might have those places in their interest. Cyrus, therefore, when he saw them all so zealous in the execution of the things he had mentioned, concluded thus: "If we intend, therefore, to effect what we agree ought to be done, we ought, as soon as possible, to be supplied with engines to demolish the forts of the enemy, and with builders, to erect bulwarks of our own." Upon this Cyaxares promised to make and supply them with one engine; Gadatas and Gobrias promised another; Tygranes another; and another Cyrus said that he would endeavour to make. When they were determined upon these things, they procured artificers for the making of these engines, and every one provided the materials necessary for their fabric, and they established, as presidents and overseers of

Digitized by Google

the work, certain persons that seemed the most proper for the employment.

Cyrus, when he found that there would be some time taken up in these affairs, encamped the army in a situation that he judged to be the most healthy and most easily accessible, with respect to all things that were necessary to be brought thither. And he did whatever was necessary to the making it strong, that they who always remained there might be in safety, though the main strength of the army should, at any time, march at a distance from the camp. And, besides, he enquired of those he thought knew the country best, from what parts of it the army might be supplied with all things that were of use to them in the greatest plenty. He led them always abroad to get provision and forage, both that he might procure the greatest plenty of necessaries for the army, that his men, inured to labour by these marches, might gain health and vigour; and that, in marching, they might preserve in their memories the order they were to keep.

Cyrus was employed in these affairs, when deserters from Babylon, and prisoners taken, gave an account that the Assyrian was gone to Lydia, carrying with him many talents of gold and silver, and other treasures, and rich ornaments of all kinds. The body of the soldiery supposed that he was already putting his treasures out of the way for fear; but Cyrus, judging that he went in order to collect a force against him, if he were able to effect it, prepared himself, on the other hand, with a great deal of vigour, as thinking that he should be again forced to come to an engagement. Accordingly he completed the Persian body of horse; some horses he got from the prisoners, and some from his friends; for these things he accepted from all, rejected nothing, neither a fine weapon nor a horse, if any one presented him with it. Chariots, likewise, he fitted up, both out of those that were taken,

Digitized by Google

and from whencesoever else he was able to get supplied with what was necessary towards it.

The Trojan method of using chariots, that was practised of old, and that way of managing them that is yet in use amongst the Cyrenæans, he abolished. For formerly the Medes, Syrians, and Arabians, and all the people of Asia, used the same method, with respect to their chariots, that the Cyrenæans do at this time; and he was of opinion, that the very best of the men being mounted upon chariots, they that probably constituted the chief strength of the army, had the part only of skirmishers at a distance, and had no great share in the gaining of a victory. For three hundred chariots afford three hundred combatants, and these take up twelve hundred horses; then their drivers, probably, are such as these men, that are the best of the army, chiefly confide in, and here again are three hundred others, and they such as do the enemy no manner of mischief. Therefore this sort of management, with respect to their chariots, he abolished; and, instead of this, he provided a sort of warlike chariots, with wheels of great strength, so as not to be easily broken, and with axletrees that were long, because things that carry breadth are less liable to be overturned. The box for the drivers he made like a turret, and with strong pieces of timber; and the highest of these boxes reached up to the elbows of the drivers, that, reaching over those boxes, they might drive the horses. The drivers he covered, all but their eyes, with armour. To the axletrees, on each side of the wheels, he added steel scythes, of about two cubits in length; and, below, under the axletree, he fixed others, pointing to the ground, as intending, with these chariots to break in upon the enemy. As Cyrus, at that time, contrived these chariots, so, to this day, they use them in the king's territory. He had, likewise, camels in great number, such as were collected from amongst his friends,

Digitized by Google

and those that were taken from the enemy, being all brought together.

Thus were these things performed. But he, being desirous to send some spy into Lydia, and to learn what the Assyrian did, was of opinion, that Araspes, the guardian of the beautiful woman, was a proper person to go upon that errand; for, with Araspes, things had fallen out in this manner.

Having fallen in love with the woman, he was forced to make proposals to her concerning a more intimate commerce with each other. But she denied him, and was faithful to her husband, though he was absent; for she loved him very much. Yet she did not accuse Araspes to Cyrus, being unwilling to make a quarrel between men that were friends. Then Araspes, thinking to forward the success of his inclinations, threatened the woman, that if she would not yield to the thing willingly, she should submit to it against her will. Upon this the woman, being in fear of violation, concealed the matter no longer, but sent a eunuch to Cyrus, with orders to tell him the whole affair. He, when he heard it, laughed at this man, that had said he was above the power of love. He sent Artabazus with the eunuch, and commanded him to tell Araspes, that he should not do violence to such a woman; but if he could prevail with her by persuasion, he said, that he would be no hindrance to him. But Artabazus, coming to Araspes, reproached him, calling the woman a deposit that had been trusted in his hands; and telling him of his impiety, injustice, and impotence of his passion, so that Araspes shed many tears for grief, was overwhelmed with shame, and almost dead with fear, lest he should suffer some severity at the hands of Cyrus. Cyrus, being informed of this, sent for him, and spoke to him by himself alone.

"I see, Araspes," said he, "that you are very much in fear of me, and very much ashamed. But

Digitized by Google

give them both over, for I have heard that gods have been conquered by love; I know how much men, that have been accounted very wise, have suffered by love; and I pronounced upon myself, that if I conversed with beautiful people, I was not enough master of myself to disregard them. And I am the cause that this has befallen you, for I shut you up with this irresistible thing." Araspes then said, in reply, "You are in this too, Cyrus, as you are in other things, mild, and disposed to forgive the errors of men; but other men," said he, "overwhelm me with grief and concern; for the rumour of my misfortune is got abroad, my enemies are pleased with it, and my friends come to me, and advise me to get out of the way, lest I suffer some severity at your hands, as having been guilty of a very great injustice."

Then Cyrus said, "Be it known to you, therefore, Araspes, that, by means of this very opinion that people have taken up, it is in your power to gratify me in a very high degree, and to do very great service to our allies." "I wish," said Araspes, "that I had an opportunity of being again of use to you." "Therefore," said he, "if you would make as if you fled from me, and would go over to the enemy, I believe that the enemy would trust you." "And I know, by Jove," said Araspes, "that I should give occasion to have it said by my friends that I fled from you." "Then you might return to us," said he, "apprized of all the enemy's affairs. I believe that, upon their giving credit to you, they would make you a sharer in their debates and counsels, so that nothing would be concealed from you, that I would desire you should know." "I will go then," said he, "now, out of hand; for, be assured that my being thought to have made my escape as one that was just about to receive punishment at your hands, will be one of the things that will give me credit."

Digitized by Google

"And can you," said he, "leave the beautiful Panthea?" "Yes, Cyrus; for I have plainly two souls. I have now philosophized this point out by the help of that wicked sophister Love; for a single soul cannot be a good one and a bad one at the same time, nor can it, at the same time, affect both noble actions and vile ones. It cannot incline and be averse to the same things at the same time; but it is plain there are two souls, and, when the good one prevails, it does noble things; when the ill one prevails, it attempts vile things. But now that it has got you for a support, the good one prevails, and that very much." "If you think it proper, therefore, to be gone," said Cyrus, "thus you must do, in order to gain the greater credit with them. Relate to them the state of our affairs, and relate it so as that what you say may be as great a hindrance as possible to what they intend to do: and it would be some hindrance to them, if you should say, that we are preparing to make an incursion into some part of their territory; for, when they hear this, they will be less able to assemble their whole force together, every one being in fear for something at home. Then stay with them," said he, "as long as you can; for what they do when they are the nearest us, will be the most for our purpose to know. Advise them, likewise, to form themselves into such an order as may be thought the strongest; for, when you come away, and are supposed to be apprized of their order, they will be under a necessity to keep to it, for they will be afraid of making a change in it; and, if they do make a change, by their being so near at hand, it will create confusion amongst them."

Araspes, setting out in this manner, and taking with him such of his servants as he chiefly confided in, and telling some certain persons such things as he thought might be of service to his undertaking, went his way.

Digitized by Google

Panthea, as soon as she perceived that Araspes was gone, sending to Cyrus, told him thus: "Do not be afflicted, Cyrus, that Araspes is gone off to the enemy; for, if you will allow me to send to my husband, I engage that there will come to you one who will be a much more faithful friend to you than Araspes. I know that he will attend you with all the force that he is able, for the father of the prince that now reigns was his friend, but he who at present reigns, attempted once to part us from each other; and reckoning him, therefore, an unjust man, I know that he would joyfully revolt from him to such a man as you are."

Cyrus, hearing this, ordered her to send to her husband. She sent; and when Abradatas discovered the signs from his wife, and perceived how matters stood as to the other particulars, he marched joyfully away to Cyrus, having about two thousand horse with him. When he came up with the Persian scouts, he sent to Cyrus, to tell him who he was: Cyrus immediately ordered them to conduct him to his wife.

When Abradatas and his wife saw each other, they mutually embraced, as was natural to do, upon an occasion so unexpected. Upon this Panthea told him of the sanctity and virtue of Cyrus, and of his pity and compassion towards her. Abradatas having heard of it, said, "What can I do, Panthea, to pay my gratitude to Cyrus for you and for myself?" "What else," said Panthea, "but endeavour to behave towards him as he has done towards you?" Upon this Abradatas came to Cyrus, and, as soon as he saw him, taking him by the right hand, he said, "In return for the benefits you have bestowed upon us, Cyrus, I have nothing of more consequence to say, than that I give myself to you as a friend, a servant, and an ally; and whatever designs I observe you to be engaged in, I will endeavour to be the best assistant to you in them that

Digitized by Google

I am able." Then Cyrus said, "I accept your offer, and dismiss you, at this time, to take your supper with your wife; but, at some other time, you must take a meal with me in my tent, together with your friends and mine."

After this Abradatas, observing Cyrus to be employed about the chariots armed with scythes, and about those horses and horsemen that were clothed in armour,' endeavoured, out of his own body of horse, to fit him up a hundred such chariots as his were; and he prepared himself, as being to lead them, mounted upon a chariot himself. His own chariot he framed with four perches, and for eight horses. His wife Panthea, out of her own treasures, made him a corselet of gold, and a golden head-piece, and arm-pieces of the same; and the horses of his chariot she provided with brass defences. These things Abradatas performed. And Cyrus, observing his chariot with four perches, considered that it might be possible to make one with eight, so as to draw the lower frame of this machine with eight yoke of oxen. This engine, together with its wheels, was upwards of fifteen feet from the ground. And he believed, that turrets of this kind, following in the line, might be of great help to his own phalanx, and do great prejudice to the line of the enemy. Upon these frames he made open places, to move about in, and strong defences, and upon each of these turrets he mounted twenty men. When all things with respect to these turrets were completed to his hand, he made an experiment of their draught, and eight yoke of oxen drew a turret, and the men upon it, with more ease than each yoke drew the common baggage weight; for the weight of baggage was about five and twenty talents to each yoke; but the draught of a turret, whose wooden frame was as broad as a tragic stage, together with twenty men and their arms, amounted but to fifteen talents to each yoke. When he found that the

Digitized by Google

draught was easy, he prepared for the marching these turrets with the army, reckoning, that to take all advantages was both safe and just, and of happy consequence in war.

At this time there came from the Indian certain persons, who brought treasure, and gave him an account that the Indian sent him word thus: "I am pleased, Cyrus, that you gave me an account of what you wanted; I have a mind to engage in friendship with you, and I send you treasure: if you want any thing else, send me word. They that come from me have it in charge to do whatever you order them."

Cyrus, hearing this, said, "I order then, that some of you, remaining here, where you have pitched your tents, may guard the treasure, and live as is most agreeable to you. But let three of you go on to the enemy, as coming from the Indian, to treat of an alliance, and getting yourselves informed of what is said and done there, give me and the Indian an account of it as soon as is possible. And, if you serve me well in this, I shall be yet more obliged to you, than for your coming hither, and bringing me treasure; for such spies, as appear men of servile condition, are not able to know or give an account of any thing more than what all people know. But such men as you are often led into the knowledge of designs and counsels." The Indians, hearing this with pleasure, and being, upon that occasion, entertained by Cyrus, made all things ready; and the next day went away, promising faithfully to get informed of as many of the enemy's concerns as they were able, and to come away as soon as possible.

Cyrus made all other preparations for the war, in the most magnificent manner, as being a man who projected to perform no inconsiderable things, and, withal, did not only take care of such things as he thought proper, for his allies, but raised

Digitized by Google

amongst his friends an emulation to appear armed in the handsomest manner, to appear the most skilled in horsemanship, at throwing of the javelin, and in the use of the bow, and the most ready to undergo any fatigue. This he effected by leading them out to hunt, and rewarding those that were the ablest in the several performances. And those commanders that he observed to be most careful to make their soldiers excel, those he animated by praising them, and by gratifying them in all that he was able. If, at any time, he made a sacrifice, or solemnized a festival, he appointed games upon the occasion, in all the several things that men practise upon the account of war, and gave magnificent rewards to the conquerors; and there was a mighty cheerfulness in the army.

All things that Cyrus had a mind to have with him for the service were now almost completed to his hands, except the engines; for the Persian horsemen were filled up to ten thousand. The chariots, armed with scythes, that he himself provided, were now a hundred complete. Those that Abradatas the Susian undertook to provide, like those of Cyrus, were likewise complete a hundred. And the Median chariots, that Cyrus had persuaded Cyaxares to change from the Trojan and Lybian form and method, were likewise made up to another hundred. The camels were mounted by two archers upon each; and most of the army stood so disposed, as if they had already conquered, and the affairs of the enemy were reduced to nothing.

While they were in this disposition, the Indians, that Cyrus had sent to get intelligence, came back from the enemy, and said that Crœsus was chosen general and leader of all the enemy's forces: that all the princes in their alliance had determined to attend each with his whole force, to contribute mighty sums of money, and to lay them out in stipends to all those that they could hire, and in pre-

Digitized by Google

sents, where it was proper: that they had already hired a great number of Thracians, armed with large swords: that the Egyptians were under sail to come to them, and the number of these, they said, amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand, armed with large shields, that reached down to their feet, with mighty spears, such as they use at this day, and with swords. They said that a body of Cyprians was under sail to join them, and that all the Cilicians, the men of both the Phrygias, the Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, Arabians, Phœnicians, and Assyrians, with the prince of Babylon, were already joined: that the Ionians, the Æolians, and all the Greek colonies in Asia, were obliged to attend Crœsus; and that Crœsus had sent to Lacedæmon, to treat of an alliance with them: that this army assembled about the river Pactolus, and was about to advance to Thybarra, where all the barbarians of the lower Syria, that are subject to the king, assemble at this day: that orders were given out to all, to convey provisions and all things thither, as to the general market. The prisoners likewise related almost the same things; for Cyrus took care that prisoners should be taken, in order to get information; and he sent out spies, that seemed to be of servile condition, as deserters.

When the army of Cyrus came to hear all this, every body was under concern, as it was natural for them to be. They went up and down in a sedater way than they used to do, and the multitude did not appear cheerful. But they got together in circles; and all places were full of people, asking each other questions concerning these matters, and discoursing together. When Cyrus perceived that terror was spreading apace through the army, he called together the commanders of the several bodies, together with all such whose dejection might prove to be anyways prejudicial, or their alacrity of use; and told his servants, beforehand, that if

Digitized by Google

any other of the soldiers attended to hear his discourse, they should not hinder them. When they were assembled, he said,

"Friends and allies, I have called you together, because I observed that, since these accounts are come from the enemy, some of you appear like men that are terrified: for, to me, it appears strange that any of you should be really terrified at the enemies' being said to assemble their forces, because we are at this time met in much greater numbers than we were when we beat them; and, with the help of the gods, are now better prepared than before: and, when you see this, does it not give you courage? In the name of the gods!" said he, "if you are afraid now, what had you done if people had given you an account that the enemies were advancing upon you, with all the advantages on their side that we have on ours? And, in the first place," said he, "had you heard that they, who had beaten us before, were coming upon us again, with minds full of the victory they had obtained? That they, who at that time slighted the distant discharge of arrows and javelins, were now coming, with multitudes, more armed like themselves? And, then, that as these heavy-armed men, at that time, conquered our foot; so, now, their horsemen, provided in the same manner, advanced against our horse? And that, rejecting bows and javelins, each of them, armed with one strong lance, had it in their intention to push up to us, and engage hand to hand? That there are chariots coming, that are not to be planted as heretofore, and turned away as for flight, but that the horses of these chariots are covered with armour, the drivers stand in wooden turrets, and all upwards are covered with their corselets and helms, and steel scythes are fixed to the axletrees; and that these are ready to drive in immediately upon the ranks of those that stand in opposition to them? Besides, that they have camels, upon

Digitized by Google

which they ride up to us, and one of which a hundred horses will not bear the sight of? And yet, farther, that they advance with certain towers, from whence they can support their own people; and, by discharging their weapons upon you, hinder you from fighting upon even ground with them?—Had any one told you that the enemies were possessed of all these things, if you are afraid now, what had you done then? But, when you have an account that Crœsus is chosen the enemies' general, he who behaved himself so much worse than the Syrians; that the Syrians were beaten before they fled, but Crœsus, when he saw them beaten, instead of supporting his allies, fled and made his escape! And, when it is told you that the same enemies are not thought sufficient to engage us, but that they hire others, that they think will fight their battles for them better than they do for themselves!—If these are such things as appear terrible to any, and that the state of our own affairs appears mean and contemptible to them,—these men, my friends, I say, ought to go their ways to the enemy; for, by being there, they will do us more service than they will by being amongst us!"

When Cyrus had said this, Chrysantas the Persian spoke thus: "O Cyrus! do not wonder that some people carry sad countenances upon having heard these accounts; for it is not fear that affects them thus, but it is grief. For," said he, "if people, that had a mind to get their dinners, and were just in expectation of it, were told of some work that was necessary to be done before they dined, nobody, I believe, would be pleased with hearing it. Just so, therefore, while we are in present expectation of enriching ourselves, and then hear that there is still some work left that of necessity must be done, we look sad, not out of fear, but because we want to have that work already over. But, since we are not only contending for Syria, where there

Digitized by Google

is corn in abundance, flocks, and fruitful palms; but for Lydia too, where wine, and figs, and oil, abound, and a land whose shores the sea washes; by which means, such numbers of valuable things are brought thither as no one ever saw. Considering these things, we are no longer dejected, but have full confidence that we shall soon enjoy these valuable productions of Lydia." Thus he spoke; and all the allies were pleased with his discourse, and applauded it.

"And, indeed, my friends," said Cyrus, "my opinion is, to march up to them as soon as possible, that, if we can, we may prevent them, and first reach those places where all their conveniencies are got together for them; and then, the sooner we march to them, the fewer things we shall find them provided with, and the more things we shall find them in want of. This I give as my opinion: if any one think any other course safer and easier to us, let him inform us."

After a great many had expressed their concurrence in its being proper to march, as soon as possible, to the enemy, and that nobody said to the contrary; upon this, Cyrus began a discourse to this effect:

"Friends and allies, our minds, our bodies, and the arms that we are to use, have been, with the help of the gods, long since provided to our hands: it is now our business to provide necessaries, upon our march, for not less than twenty days, both for ourselves, and as many beasts as we make use of: for, upon calculation, I find that the way we are to go will take us up more than fifteen days; and, upon the road, we shall find no sort of necessaries; for every thing that was possible has been taken and carried off, partly by ourselves, and partly by the enemy. We must therefore put up a sufficient quantity of food, for, without this, we can neither fight nor can we live; but, of wine, as much as is enough

Digitized by Google

to accustom us to drink water; for great part of the way that we are to take is entirely unprovided with wine, and, were we to put up a very great quantity of it, it would not suffice us. Therefore, that we may not fall into distempers, by being deprived of wine all on a sudden, we must do thus; we must begin now immediately to drink water with our food: for, by doing thus now, we shall make no very great change: for whoever feeds upon things made of flour, eats the mass mixed up with water; and he that feeds upon bread, eats the loaf that is first moistened and worked up with water; and all boiled meats are made ready with a great quantity of water. But if, after our meal, we drink a little wine upon it, our stomach, not having less than usual, rests satisfied. Then, afterwards, we must cut off even this allowance after supper, till, at last, we become insensibly water-drinkers: for an alteration, little by little, brings any nature to bear a total change. God himself teaches us this, by bringing us, little by little, from the midst of the winter, to bear very great heat; and, from the heat, to bear very great cold: and we, in imitation of him, ought, by custom and practice, to reach the end we should attain to. Spare the weight of fine quilts and carpets, and make it up in necessaries; for a superfluity of things necessary will not be useless. But, if you happen to be without these carpets, you need not be afraid that you shall not lie and sleep with pleasure. If it prove otherwise than I say, then blame me: but, to have plenty of clothes with a man, is a great help to one, both in health and sickness. And of meats we ought to put up those that are a good deal sharp, acid, and salt; for they create appetite, and are a lasting nourishment. And, when we come into those parts of the country that are untouched, where probably we shall find corn, we ought to be provided with hand-mills, by taking them with us from hence, that we may use them in

Digitized by Google

making our bread. For, of all the instruments that are used in making bread, these are the lightest. We ought likewise to put up quantities of such things as are wanted by sick people; for their bulk is but very little, and, if such a chance befal us, we shall want them very much. We must likewise have store of straps; for most things, both about men and horses, are fastened by straps, and, when they wear out, or break, there is a necessity of standing still, unless one can get supplied with them. Whoever has learnt the skill of polishing a lance, it will be well for him not to forget a polisher, and he will do well to carry a file. For he that sharpens his spear, sharpens his soul at the same time; for there is a sort of shame in it, that one who sharpens his lance should himself be cowardly and dull. We ought likewise to have plenty of timber with us, for the chariots and carriages; for, in many affairs, many things will, of necessity, be defective. And we ought to be provided with the tools and instruments that are the most necessary for all these things, for artificers are not everywhere to be met with, nor will a few of them be sufficient for our daily work. To every carriage we should have a cutting-hook and a spade; and to each beast of burden, a pick-axe and a scythe; for these things are useful to every one in particular, and are often serviceable to the public. Therefore, with respect to the things that are necessary for food, do you, that are commanders of the soldiery, examine those that are under you; for, in whatever of these things any one is defective, it must not be passed by: for we shall be in want of these. And as to those things, that I order to be carried by the beasts of burden, do you, that are the commanders of those that belong to the baggage-train, examine into them, and the man that has them not, do you oblige to provide them. And do you, that are the commanders of those that clear the ways, take down, in a list from me, such

Digitized by Google

as are turned out from among the throwers of the javelin, the archers, and the slingers. And those that are taken from amongst the throwers of the javelin, you must oblige to serve with an axe, for cutting of wood; those that are taken from the archers, with a spade; and those from the slingers, with a cutting hook. These must march in troops before the carriages, that, in case the way wants to be mended, you may presently set to work, and that, if I want any thing to be done, I may know from whence to take them for my use. And I will take with me smiths, carpenters, and leather-cutters, with all their proper tools, and who shall be men of an age fit to attend the service, that nothing of what is necessary to be done in the army, in the way of those arts, may be wanting. And these shall all be exempt and disengaged from the military ranks, but shall be placed in their proper order, ready to do service for any one that will hire them, in the ways that they are severally skilled in. And if any tradesman has a mind to attend, with intention to sell any thing, he must have necessaries for the days before mentioned; and if he be found to sell any thing during those days, all that he has shall be taken from him; but when these days are past, he may sell as he pleases. And whoever of these traders shall be found to furnish the greatest plenty of the things that he deals in, he shall meet with reward and honour from our allies and from me. If any one thinks that he wants money to purchase things, let him bring people that know him, and will be responsible for him, that he will certainly attend the army, and then let him take of what belongs to us.

"These are the things that I order. If any one knows of any other thing that is proper, let him signify it to me. Do you go your ways, and put up every thing. I intend to make a sacrifice on our setting forward; and, when our divine affairs stand right, we will give the signal. All must attend, with

Digitized by Google

the things before ordered, in their proper posts, under their several commanders. And do you, commanders, each of you, putting his division into good order, all come and confer with me, that you may learn your several posts." They, hearing this, made their preparations, and he made a sacrifice.

And when the sacred rites were performed in a happy manner, he set forward with the army, and the first day encamped at as small a distance as he could, that, in case any one had forgot any thing he might fetch it; and that if any one found himself in want of any thing, he might provide it. Cyaxares, therefore, with the third part of the Medes, staid behind, that affairs at home might not be left destitute.

And Cyrus marched with the utmost dispatch, having the horse at the head of the whole, but always making the discoverers and scouts mount up before, to such places as were most proper to take their views from. After the horse he led the baggage train, and, where the country was open and plain, he marched the carriages and beasts of burden in several lines. The phalanx marched after, and, if any of the baggage train was left behind, those of the commanders that were at hand took care of it, that they might not be hindered in their march. But, where their road was more contracted, he ranged the train in the middle, and the soldiers marched on each side, and if they met with an hindrance, those of the soldiers that were at hand took care about it. The several regiments marched for the most part with their own baggage near them, for it was given in charge to those of the train, to march each part of them by the regiment they belonged to, unless some necessity kept them from doing it; and every officer of the train led on with the colonel's ensign, or mark that was known to the men of their several regiments; so that they marched in close order, and every one took very great

Digitized by Google

care of their own, that it might not be left behind; and, by doing thus, they were in no need of seeking for each other, all things were at hand and in more safety, and the soldiers were the more readily supplied with what they wanted.

But as soon as the advanced scouts thought that they saw men in the plain getting forage and wood, and saw beasts of burden laden with such kind of things, and feeding, and then again taking a view at a greater distance, they thought that they observed smoke or dust rising up into the air. From all these things they concluded that the enemy's army was somewhere near at hand. The commander of the scouts, therefore, immediately sent one to Cyrus to tell him these things.

He, having heard these things, commanded them to remain in the same viewing places, and whatever new thing they saw, to give him an account of it. He sent a regiment of horse forward, and commanded them to endeavour to take some of the men that were in the plain, that they might get a clearer insight into the matter. They that were thus ordered did accordingly. He made a disposition of the rest of his army in such a manner, that they might be provided with whatever he thought fitting before they came up close to the enemy; and, first, he made it be proclaimed, that they should take their dinners, and then wait in their ranks, attentive to their farther orders. When they had dined, he called together the several commanders of the horse, foot, and chariots, of the engines, baggage train, and carriages, and they met accordingly. They that made an excursion into the plain, taking certain people prisoners, brought them off.

These that were taken, being asked by Cyrus, told him, that they came off from their army, and passing their advanced guard, came out, some for forage and some for wood; for, by means of the multitude that their army consisted of, all things

Digitized by Google

were very scarce. Cyrus, hearing this, said, "And how far is the army from hence?" They told him about two parasangs. Upon this Cyrus asked, "And is there any discourse amongst them concerning us?" "Yes, by Jove," said they, "a great deal, particularly that you are already near at hand advancing upon them." "Well then," said Cyrus, "did they rejoice at the hearing it?" And this he asked for the sake of those that were by. "No, by Jove," said they, "they did not rejoice, but were very much concerned." "And, at this time," said Cyrus, "what are they doing?" "They are forming into order," said they, "and both yesterday and the day before they were employed in the same work." "And he that makes their disposition," said Cyrus, "who is he?" "Crœsus himself," said they, "and with him a certain Greek, and another besides, who is a Mede, and this man was said to be a deserter from you." Then Cyrus said, "O greatest Jove, may I be able to take this man as I desire!"

Upon this he ordered them to carry off the prisoners, and turned to the people that were present, as if he were going to say something. At that instant there came another man from the commander of the scouts, who told him that there appeared a great body of horse in the plain, "And we guess," said he, "that they are marching with intention to take a view of the army; for, before this body, there is another party, of about thirty horse, that march with great diligence, and directly against us, perhaps with intention to seize our station for viewing, if they can, and we are but a single decad upon that station." Then Cyrus ordered a party of those horse, that always attended him, to march and put themselves in a place under the viewing station, and keeping themselves concealed from the enemy, to be quiet. "And when our decad," said he, "quits the station, then do you rush out and attack those

Digitized by Google

that mount it; and, that the enemy's greater body may not do you mischief, do you, Hystaspes," said he, "march with a thousand horse, and appear in opposition to the enemy's body; and do not pursue up to any undiscovered place, but when you have taken care to maintain the possession of your viewing stations, then come back to me. And if any men ride up to you with their right hands extended, receive them as friends." Hystaspes went away and armed himself. Those that attended Cyrus marched immediately, and, on this side the viewing places, Araspes, with his servants, met them, he that had been some time since sent away as a spy, and was the guardian of the Susian woman.

Cyrus, therefore, as soon as he saw him, leaped from his seat, met him, and received him with his right hand. The rest, as was natural, knowing nothing of the matter, were struck with the thing, till Cyrus said, "My friends, here comes to us a brave man, for now it is fit that all men should know what he has done. This man went away, not for any base thing that he was loaded with, or for any fear of me, but he was sent by me, that, learning the state of the enemy's affairs for us, he might make us a clear report of them. What I promised you, therefore, Araspes, I remember, and, with the assistance of all these that are here, I will perform it. And it is just that all you, my friends, should pay him honour as a brave man; for, to do us service, he has thrown himself into dangers, and has borne that load of reproach that fell so heavy upon him." Upon this they all embraced Araspes, and gave him their right hands.

Then Cyrus, telling them that there was enough of this, said, "Give us an account, Araspes, of these things, and do not abate any thing of the truth, with respect to the enemy's affairs; for it is better that we should think them greater, and see them less, than hear them to be less and find them

Digitized by Google

greater." "I acted," said Araspes, "in such a manner as to get the clearest insight into them, for I assisted in person at their making their disposition." "You, therefore," said Cyrus, "know not only their numbers, but their order too." "Yes, by Jove," said Araspes, "and I know the manner that they intend to engage in." "But, in the first place, tell us, however," said Cyrus, "in general, what their numbers are?" "Well then," said he, "they are all ranged thirty in depth, both foot and horse, except the Egyptians, and they extended in front forty stades, for I took very great care to know what ground they took up." "And then, as to the Egyptians," said Cyrus, "tell us how they are ranged, for you said—except the Egyptians." "The commanders of ten thousand formed each of their bodies into a hundred every way; for this, they say, is their order, according to their custom at home; but Crœsus allowed them to form in this manner very much against his will, for he was desirous to over-front your army as much as possible." "And why," said Cyrus, "does he desire this?" "Why, by Jove," said he, "in order to encompass you with that part that exceeds you in front." Then Cyrus said, "But let them look to it, that the encompassers be not themselves encompassed. But we have heard what is proper for us to be informed of by you, and you, my friends, must act in this manner:

"As soon as you go from hence, examine the arms that belong both to the horses and to yourselves; for, frequently, by the want of a little thing, both man, and horse, and chariot, become useless. Tomorrow, in the morning, whilst I sacrifice, you must first get your dinners, both men and horse, that whatever opportunity of action offers itself, we may not balk it. Then do you, Araspes, keep the right wing as you do now, and let the other commanders of ten thousand keep the stations they now are in; for, when a race is just ready to be entered upon,

Digitized by Google

there is no longer opportunity for any chariot to shift horses. Give orders to the several colonels and captains to form into a phalanx, with each company drawn up two in front." And each company consisted of four and twenty men. Then one of the commanders of ten thousand said, "And do we think, Cyrus," said he, "that, when we are ranged but so many deep, we shall be strong enough against phalanxes of that great depth?"

And Cyrus replied, "Phalanxes that are deeper than to be able to reach the enemy with their weapons, what injury," said he, "do you think they will do to the enemy, or what service to their fellow combatants? For my part," said he, "those soldiers that are ranged a hundred in depth, I would rather choose to have ranged ten thousand in depth, for, by that means, we should have the fewer to engage; but by the number of men that form our phalanx in depth, I reckon to make the whole act and support itself. The throwers of the javelin I will range behind the corselet men, and behind the throwers of the javelin the archers. For who would place those in front who, themselves, can confess, that they cannot bear any engagement hand to hand? But when the corselet-men are interposed before them, then they stand. And the one casting their javelins, and the other discharging their arrows, over the heads of those that are ranged before them, do execution upon the enemy. And as much mischief as any one does the enemy, it is plain that so far he gives relief to his fellow combatants. Last of all, I will place those that are called the rear, for as a house, without a strong stone-work, and without men that have the skill to form the roof, is of no value, so neither is a phalanx of any value without such as are serviceable both in front and rear. Do you then," said he, "form as I order you. And do you, commanders of the javelin men, form your several companies in the same manner

Digitized by Google

behind these. Do you, commanders of the archers, form, in the same manner, behind the javelin men; and you, who command the rear, with your men placed last, give orders to those under you, each of them to keep his eye to those before him, to encourage those that do their duty, to threaten severely such as behave cowardly; and, if any one turn away, with intention to desert his station, to punish him with death. For it is the business of those that are placed before, both by words and actions, to encourage those that follow; and you, that are placed in the rear of all, must inspire the cowardly with greater terror than the enemies themselves give them. These things do you do; and do you, Abradatas, who command those that belong to the engines, take care that the oxen, that draw the turrets and men belonging to them, follow up as close to the phalanx as possible. And do you, Daouchus, who command the baggage-train, lead up all that kind of people behind the turrets and engines, and let your attendants severely punish those that are either more advanced or more behind than they ought to be. And do you, Cardouchus, who command the waggons that carry the women, place these last, behind the baggage-train; for all these, following each other, will make the appearance of a great multitude, and will give us an opportunity of forming an ambuscade; and, in case the enemy have a mind to encompass us, will oblige them to take a greater circuit; and the more ground they encompass, so much the weaker must they of necessity be. And thus do you. But you, Artabazus and Artagersas, each of you, with the thousand foot that attend you, keep behind these. And you, Pharnouchus and Asiadatas, each with your thousand horse, do not you form in the phalanx, but arm by yourselves, behind the waggons, and then come to us, together with the rest of the commanders; but you ought to prepare yourselves, as being the first to engage.

Digitized by Google

And do you, who are the commanders of the men mounted upon the camels, form behind the waggons, and act as Artagersas shall order you. And of you, leaders of the chariots, let that man range his hundred chariots, in front, before the phalanx, who obtains that station by lot, and let the other hundreds attend the phalanx ranged upon the wings, one on the right side and the other on the left."

Thus Cyrus ordered. But Abradatas, king of the Susians, said, "I take it voluntarily upon myself, Cyrus, to hold that station in front, against the opposite phalanx, unless you think otherwise." Then Cyrus, being struck with admiration of the man, and taking him by the right hand, asked the Persians, that belonged to others of the chariots, "Do you," said he, "yield to this? When they replied, that it would not be handsome in them to give it up, he brought them all to the lot; and, by the lot, Abradatas obtained what he had taken upon himself, and he stood opposite to the Egyptians. Then going their way, and taking care of the things that were before mentioned, they took their suppers, and, having placed their guards, they went to rest.

The next day, in the morning, Cyaxares sacrificed, but the rest of the army, after having taken their dinners, and made their libations, equipped themselves with fine coats, in great number, and with many fine corselets and helmets. The horses, likewise, they armed with forehead-pieces and breast-plates, the single horses with thigh-pieces, and those in the chariots with plates upon their sides; so that the whole army glittered with the brass, and appeared beautifully decked with scarlet habits.

The chariot of Abradatas, that had four perches and eight horses, was completely adorned for him; and, when he was going to put on his linen corselet, which was a sort of armour used by those of his country, Panthea brought him a golden helmet,

Digitized by Google

and arm-pieces, broad bracelets for his wrists, a purple habit, that reached down to his feet, and hung in folds at the bottom, and a crest dyed of a violet colour. These things she had made, unknown to her husband, and by taking the measure of his armour. He wondered when he saw them, and enquired thus of Panthea: "And have you made me these arms, woman, by destroying your own ornaments?" "No, by Jove," said Panthea, "not what is the most valuable of them; for it is you, if you appear to others to be what I think you, that will be my greatest ornament." And, saying this, she put him on the armour; and, though she endeavoured to conceal it, the tears poured down her cheeks. When Abradatas, who was before a man of fine appearance, was set out in these arms, he appeared the most beautiful and noble of all, especially being likewise so by nature. Then taking the reins from the driver, he was just preparing to mount the chariot, upon this Panthea, after she had desired all that were there present to retire, said,

"O, Abradatas, if ever there was another woman, who had greater regard to her husband, than to her own soul, I believe, you know that I am one of them; what need I, therefore, speak of things in particular? for I reckon that my actions have convinced you more than any words I can now use. And yet, though I stand thus affected towards you, as you know I do, I swear, by this friendship of mine and yours, that I certainly would rather choose to be put under ground jointly with you, approving yourself a brave man, than to live with you in disgrace and shame; so much do I think you and myself worthy of the noblest things. Then I reckon we both lie under a great obligation to Cyrus, that, when I was a captive, and chosen out for himself, he thought fit to take me neither as a slave, nor, indeed, as a free-woman of mean account; but he

Digitized by Google

took and kept me for you, as if I were his brother's wife. Besides, when Araspes, who was my guard, went away from him, I promised him, that, if he would allow me to send for you, you would come to him, and approve yourself a much better and more faithful friend than Araspes."

Thus she spoke: and Abradatas, being struck with admiration at her discourse, laying his hand gently upon her head, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, made this prayer: "Do thou, O greatest Jove, grant me to appear a husband worthy of Panthea, and a friend worthy of Cyrus, who has done us so much honour!"

Having said this, he mounted the chariot by the door of the driver's seat; and, after his being got up, when the driver shut the door of the seat, Panthea, who had now no other way to salute him, kissed the seat of the chariot. The chariot then moved on, and she, unknown to him, followed, till Abradatas turning about, and seeing her, said, "Take courage, Panthea!—Fare you happily and well; and now go your ways." Upon this her eunuchs and women servants took and conducted her to her conveyance, and, laying her down, concealed her, by throwing the covering of a tent over her. The people, though Abradatas and his chariot made a noble spectacle, were not able to look at him, till Panthea was gone.

But when Cyrus had happily sacrificed, the army was formed for him, according to his orders, and taking possession of the viewing stations, one before another, he called the leaders together, and spoke thus:

"Friends and fellow soldiers, the gods, in our sacred rites, have exposed to us the same happy signs they did before, when they gave us victory; and I am desirous to put you in mind of some such things as, by your recollecting them, will, in my opinion, make you march with more courage to the

Digitized by Google

enemy. For you are better practised in the affairs of war than our enemies are, and you have been bred up together in this, and formed to it a much longer time than our enemies have been. You have been fellow conquerors together, whereas many of our enemies have been fellow sharers in a defeat; and of those on both sides, that have not yet been engaged in action, they, that are of our enemy's side, know that they have for their supports men that have been deserters of their station and runaways; but you, that are with us, know that you act with men zealous to assist their friends. It is probable then that they who have confidence in each other will unanimously stand and fight, but they who distrust each other will necessarily be every one contriving, how they shall the soonest get out of the way. Let us march then, my friends, to the enemy with our armed chariots against those of the enemy unarmed; with our cavalry in like manner, both men and horses, armed, against those of the enemy unarmed, in order to a close engagement. The rest of the foot are such as you have engaged already. But as for the Egyptians, they are both armed and formed in the same manner, both equally ill; for they have shields larger than they can act or see with, and being formed a hundred in depth, it is evident they will hinder one another from fighting, except only a very few. If they think by their might, in rushing on, to make us give way, they must first sustain our horse, and such weapons as are driven upon them by the force of horses; and, if any of them make shift to stand this, how will they be able to engage our horse, our phalanx, and our turrets at the same time? For those mounted on the turrets will come up to our assistance, and, by doing execution upon the enemy, will make them, instead of fighting, be confounded, and not know what to do. If you think that you are still in want of any thing, tell it me; for, with the help of the

Digitized by Google

gods, we will be in want of nothing. And if any one have a mind to say any thing, let him speak; if not, go your ways to sacred affairs; and, having made your prayers to the gods, to whom we have sacrificed, then go to your ranks; and let every one of you remind those that belong to him of the things which I have put you in mind of. And let every one make it appear to those whom he commands, that he is worthy of command, by showing himself fearless in his manner, his countenance and his words!"

Digitized by Google

CYROPÆDIA;

OR, THE

INSTITUTION OF CYRUS.

BOOK VII.

THESE men, having made their prayers to the gods, went away to their ranks. And the servants brought meat and drink to Cyrus, and to those that were with him, while they were yet taken up in their holy rites. Cyrus, standing as he was, and beginning with an offering to the gods, took his dinner, and distributed around always to the man that most wanted. Then, having made his libations, and prayed, he drank, and the rest that were with him did the same. After this was done, and he had made supplication to Jove Paternal, to be their leader and support, he mounted his horse, and ordered those about him to do the same. All they that were with Cyrus were armed with the same arms that he was; in scarlet habits, brass corselets, brass helmets, white crests, swords, and every one with a single spear made of the cornel-tree. Their horses were armed with-forehead pieces, breast-plates, and side-pieces, and these served as thigh-pieces to the rider. Thus much only did the arms of Cyrus differ from the others, that these were done

Digitized by Google

over with a gold colour, but those of Cyrus cast a brightness like a mirror. When he was mounted, and stood looking which way he was to go, it thundered to the right; he then said, "We will follow thee, O greatest Jove!" And he set forward with Chrysantas, a commander of horse, and his body of horse upon his right hand, and Arasambas, with his body of foot, upon his left. He gave orders, that all should have their eyes to his ensign, and follow on in an even pace. His ensign was a golden eagle held up upon the top of a long lance. And this remains the ensign of the Persian king to this day. Before they got sight of the enemy, he made the army halt three times. When they had marched on about twenty stades, they began then to observe the enemies' army advancing; and when they were all in view of each other, and the enemies found that they exceeded very much in front on both sides, then, making their own phalanx halt, (for otherwise there was no fetching a compass to inclose the opposite army,) they bent themselves, in order to take that compass, that, by having disposed themselves into the form of the letter gamma Γ, on each side, they might engage on every side at once.

Cyrus, seeing this, did not slacken his pace for it, but led on just as before. And taking notice at how great a distance on each side they took their compass, and extended their wings around, "Do you observe," said he, "Chrysantas, where they take their compass?" "Yes," said Chrysantas, "and I wonder at it, for to me they seem to draw off their wings very far from their own phalanx." "Yes, by Jove," said Cyrus, "and from ours too; and what is the meaning of this?—It is plainly," said he, "because they are afraid, in case their wings get near to us, while their phalanx is yet at a distance, that we shall charge them." Then said Chrysantas, "How will they be able to be serviceable to one another, when they are at such a dis-

Digitized by Google

tance from each other?" "It is plain," said Cyrus, "that when their wings have gained so much ground as to be over against the sides of our army, then turning themselves, and forming in front, they will march upon us on every side, that they may engage on every side at once." "And do not you think then," said Chrysantas, "that they contrive well?" "Yes, with respect to what they see, but with respect to what they do not see, they contrive worse than if they advanced upon us by their wings. But do you, Arasambas, lead on quietly with your foot, as you observe that I do. And do you, Chrysantas, follow on, with your horse, in the same even pace. I will march away to the place where I think it proper to begin the engagement, and, as I pass on, I will view how we stand disposed in every part. After I get to the place, and when we are marching up against each other, I will begin the hymn, and do you follow me. When we are engaged with the enemy, you will perceive it, for I reckon there will be no small noise and rout. Then will Abdradatas set forward to charge the enemy with his chariots, for so it shall be told him to do. You must follow up immediately after the chariots, for, by this means, we shall fall upon the enemy while they are the most in disorder. I will be myself at hand, as soon as I can, to pursue them, if the gods so please."

Having said this, and transmitted the word, which was this, "Jove our Saviour and leader!" he then marched. And taking his way between the chariots and corselet-men, and looking upon some of the men that were in their ranks, he then said, "My friends, how pleasing is it to see your countenances!" Then to others he said, "Consider, my friends, that our present contest is not only for victory to-day, but to maintain the victory we gained before, and for all manner of happy success hereafter." Then coming up with others, he said, "From henceforward, my friends, we shall have no cause to

Digitized by Google

blame the gods, for they have put it in our power to acquire many great advantages to ourselves. But then, my friends, let us be brave." To others he spoke thus: "My friends, to what nobler society of friendship can we ever invite one another than to the present? For it is now in our power, by being brave men, to confer upon each other benefits in great number." And to others again thus: "I believe you know, my friends, that the prizes now lie before you. And, to the victors, they are these: to pursue, to deal their blows, to kill, to reap great advantage, to gain praise, to be free, and to rule. But the reverse of these, it is plain, will be the lot of the cowardly. Whoever, therefore, has a kindness for himself, let him fight after my example, for I will not willingly admit of any thing mean or base in my behaviour." When he came up with others that had been in the engagement with him before, he said: "And to you, my friends, what should I say? for you know how those that are brave in action pass the day, and how those do it that are cowardly."

When he was got over against Abradatas, as he passed along he stopped. And Abradatas, delivering the reins to the driver, came to him, and several others that were posted near, and belonged both to the foot and to the chariots, ran to him; and when they were come, he spoke to them in this manner: "As you desired, Abradatas, God has vouchsafed to grant the principal rank amongst all us allies to those that are with you. And, when it comes to be your part to engage, remember that the Persians are to see you, and to follow you, and not suffer you to engage alone." Then Abradatas said, "Affairs here with us, Cyrus, seem to stand upon a good foot, but our flanks disturb me; for, along our flanks, I observe, are extended the enemies' wings, that are very strong, and consist of chariots and all other military strength; but of ours there is

Digitized by Google

nothing opposed to them but chariots; so that," said he, "had not I obtained this post by the lot, I should be ashamed to be here. So much do I think myself in the safest station." Then Cyrus said, "If things are upon a good foot with you, be at ease as to them: for, with the help of the gods, I will show you our flanks entirely clear of the enemy. And do not you attack the enemy, I charge you, before you see those people flying that you are now afraid of. (Thus presumptuously did he talk of the approaching engagement, though, at other times, he was not presumptuous in his discourse.) But when you see these men flying, then count upon it that I am at hand, and begin your attack, for you will then deal with the enemy while they are in the greatest consternation, and your own men in the most heart. But, while you have leisure, Abradatas, drive along by your own chariots, and exhort your people to the attack. Give them courage by your countenance, raise them with hopes, and inspire them with emulation to appear the bravest amongst all that belong to the chariots: for, be assured, that if things fall out thus, they will all say, for the future, that nothing is more profitable than virtue and bravery." Abradatas, mounting his chariot, drove along, and put these things in execution.

But Cyrus, moving on again, when he came to the left, where Hystaspes was with half the Persian horse, calling him by his name, said, "Hystaspes, you now see a work for your quickness in the execution of business; for, if we are beforehand with the enemy in charging and doing execution upon them, we shall not lose a man." Hystaspes, laughing at this, said, "We will take care of those that are over against us; do you give some others the charge of those that are upon our flanks, that they likewise may not be idle." Then Cyrus said, "I am going to those myself. But remember this, Hystaspes, which ever of us it is that God favours with

Digitized by Google

victory, if the enemy make a stand any where, let us always join in with our forces, and charge where the fight continues." Having said this, he moved on, and when, in his passage, he got to the flank, and to the commander of the chariots that were there posted, he said to him, "I am come to your assistance: but when you perceive us to have made our attack at the extremities, then do you endeavour, at the same time, to make your way through the enemy, for you will be much safer when you are at large, than while you are inclosed within them." Then passing on, when he got behind the waggons, he ordered Artagersas and Pharnouchus, each with his thousand men, one of foot, and the other of horse, there to remain. "And when you perceive," said he, "that I have made my attack upon those that are posted over against our right wing, then do you charge those that are over against you. You will engage them by their wing and in flank, where an army is the weakest, and with your own men formed into a phalanx, that you yourselves may be in that form and disposition which is the strongest. Then the enemy's horse, as you see, are the hindmost. By all means, therefore, advance the body of camels upon them, and be assured that, before you come to engage, you will see the enemy in a ridiculous condition. Cyrus, having finished these affairs, went on to the right wing.

And Crœsus, judging that his phalanx, that he marched with, was now nearer to the enemy than his extended wings, gave the signal to the wings to march no farther on, but to turn about in the station they were in. And as they all stood facing the army of Cyrus, he gave them the signal to march to the enemy. And thus three phalanxes advanced upon the army of Cyrus; one in front, and, of the other two, one upon the right side, and the other upon the left; so that a very great terror seized the whole army of Cyrus. For, just like a little brick

Digitized by Google

placed within a large one, so was the army of Cyrus surrounded by the enemy, with their horse, their heavy-armed men, their shield-men, archers, and chariots, on every side, except upon the rear. However, when Cyrus gave the signal, they all turned and faced the enemy; and there was a deep silence on every side, in expectation and concern for the event. As soon as Cyrus thought it the proper time, he began the hymn, and the whole army sung it with him. After this they all of them together made a shout to the god of battle.

Then Cyrus broke out, and instantly with his horse, taking the enemy in flank, fell in upon them as soon as possible. The foot that were with him, in order of battle, followed immediately, and they inclosed the enemy on each side: so that they had very much the advantage: for, with a phalanx of their own, they charged the enemy upon their wing, so that the enemy presently fled with the utmost speed. As soon as Artagersas perceived that Cyrus was engaged, he attacked upon the left, making the camels advance, as Cyrus had ordered; and the enemy's horses, even at a great distance, were not able to stand them, but some of them run madly away, some started from their ranks, and others fell foul on one another, for thus are horses always served by camels. Artagersas, with his men formed, charged in good order the enemy that were in confusion. And the chariots, both to the right and left, fell on at the same time. Many of the enemy that fled from the chariots were killed by those that pursued the wing, and many of them, in their flight from these, were met by the chariots.

Abradatas then delayed no longer, but crying out with vehemence, "Follow me, my friends!" rushed on, without sparing his horses in any sort, but, with the spur, fetched a great deal of blood of them. His other charioteers broke out with him. The chariots of the enemy immediately fled before them,

Digitized by Google

some of them taking up their men that mounted them, and some leaving them behind. Then Abradatas, making his way directly through these, fell in upon the Egyptian phalanx, and they that were placed in order near him fell on with him. Upon many other occasions, it has been made evident, that no phalanx can be of greater strength, than when it is made up of joint combatants that are friends: and it was made evident upon this; for the companions and table acquaintance of Abradatas attacked jointly with him; but the other drivers, when they saw the Egyptians, in a compact body, stand their ground, turned off to the chariots that were flying, and pursued them; the Egyptians, not being able to make way, because they who were on every side of them stood their ground. They that were with Abradatas, therefore, in that part where they fell on, running upon those that stood against them, overturned them by the rapid course of the horses; and those that fell they tore to pieces, both men and arms, horses and wheels, and whatever the scythes caught hold of, they cut their way through by force, whether arms or bodies of men. In this inexpressible confusion, the wheels making their way by jolts over heaps of all kinds, Abradatas fell, as did likewise the rest that broke in with him. And here were these brave men cut down and killed.

The Persians, who followed up after them, falling upon those that were in disorder, where Abradatas and his men had broken in, did execution upon them. But, where the Egyptians were undisturbed, (and of these there were great numbers,) they marched up against the Persians. Here began a terrible combat of lances, javelins, and swords; and the Egyptians had the advantage, both by their multitude and by their arms, for their lances were very strong and of great length, (such as they yet use at this day,) and their large shields were a better de-

Digitized by Google

fence to them than corselets and the less sort of shield; and being fastened to their shoulders, were of service to them, to make the strongest push. Therefore, closing their large shields together, they moved and pushed on. The Persians, holding their less sort of shields in their hands, at arm's length, were not able to sustain them, but retreated gradually, dealing and receiving blows, till they came to the engines. When they got thither, the Egyptians were again galled from the turrets. And they that were in the rear of all, would not suffer either the archers or javelin-men to fly, but, holding their swords at them, forced them to shoot and to throw. And great havoc and destruction there was of men, great clashing of arms and weapons of all kinds, and great noise of people, some calling to each other, some making exhortations, and some calling upon the gods.

Upon this Cyrus, pursuing those that were opposite to him, came up; and when he saw the Persians forced from their station, he was grieved, and, knowing that he could, by no other means, sooner stop the progress of the enemy forward, than by riding round, and getting to their rear, he commanded those that were with him to follow. He rode round, and came up with their rear, where his men, charging them, fell upon them as their backs were turned, and killed a great many. The Egyptians, as soon as they perceived this, cried out, that the enemy was behind them, and, in this distress, faced about. Here foot and horse fought promiscuously, and a man falling under Cyrus's horse, and, being trampled upon, struck his sword into the horse's belly: the horse, thus wounded, tossed and staggered, and threw Cyrus off. Upon this occasion, one might see of what advantage it was for a ruler to have the love of those that are under his command; for all immediately cried out, fell on, and fought; they pushed, and were themselves pushed in their

Digitized by Google

turn; they gave blows, and received them; and one of the attendants of Cyrus, leaping from his horse, mounted Cyrus upon him. When Cyrus was mounted, he perceived that the Egyptians were now hard pressed on every side, for Hystaspes was come up with the Persian horse, and Chrysantas in like manner. But he would not now suffer them to fall in upon the Egyptian phalanx, but to gall them with arrows and javelins at a distance; this he gave them orders to do. Then, in riding round, as he came up to the engines, he thought it proper to mount a turret, to view whether any body of the enemy made a stand and fought. When he was got up, he saw the whole plain full of horses, men, and chariots, some flying, some pursuing, some victorious, some defeated, the enemy flying, and his own men conquering. But he was no longer able to discover, in any part, any that stood but the Egyptians; and these, when they were at a loss what to do, forming themselves into a circle, with their arms turned to the view of their enemy, sat quietly under the shelter of their shields, no longer acted, but suffered in a cruel manner.

Cyrus, being struck with admiration of these men, and touched with pity, that such brave men should perish, made all those retreat that were engaged against them, and suffered none to continue fighting. He then sent to them a herald to ask, "whether they intended to be all destroyed for men that had deserted and betrayed them, or whether they chose to be saved with the reputation of being brave men?" Their reply was thus: "How can we obtain safety, and be reputed brave?" Then Cyrus again said, "Because we see that you are the only men that stand your ground and dare fight?" "But then," said the Egyptians, "what is that we can handsomely do, and obtain safety?" Cyrus to this said, "If you can obtain it, without betraying any of your allies and friends; if you deliver up

Digitized by Google

your arms to us, and become friends to those who choose to save you, when it is in their power to destroy you." Having heard this, they asked this question: "If we become your friends, Cyrus, how will you think fit to deal with us?" Cyrus replied, "Both to do you good offices, and to receive them from you." Then the Egyptians again asked, "What good offices?" And to this Cyrus said, "As long as the war continues, I will give you larger pay than you now receive; when we have peace, to every one of you that will stay with me, I will give lands, cities, women, and servants." The Egyptians, hearing this, "begged that they might be exempted from engaging in the war with him against Crœsus; for he was the only one," they said, "that they forgave." But, consenting to all the rest, they, on both sides, pledged their faith reciprocally. The Egyptians, that then remained, continue still to this day faithful to the king. And Cyrus gave them the cities Larissa and Cyllene, that are called the cities of the Egyptians, and lie up in the country in the neighbourhood of Cuma, near the sea, and their posterity have them at this day in their possession.

Cyrus, having performed all these things, and it now growing dark, retreated, and he encamped at Thybarra. In this battle, the Egyptians only, of all the enemy's people, gained reputation; and of those that were with Cyrus, the Persian cavalry were thought to have been the best. So that the same sort of arms that Cyrus at that time equipped his horsemen with, continue yet in use. The chariots, that carried scythes, gained likewise great fame. So that this remains yet the chariots for war in use with the prince still reigning on in succession. The camels did no more than fright the horses; they that mounted them did no execution upon the horsemen, nor were they any of them themselves killed by the horsemen, for no horse would come

Digitized by Google

near them. This was then reckoned of use; but no brave man will breed a camel for his own mounting, nor exercise and manage them, as intending to serve in war upon them; so that, taking up their old form again, they keep in the baggage-train. Cyrus's men, having taken their suppers, and placed their guards as was proper, went to rest.

But Crœsus immediately fled, with his army, to Sardes. The other nations retreated as far as they could, in the night, taking their several ways home. As soon as it was day, Cyrus led the army to Sardes; and when he got up to the walls of the place, he raised engines, as intending to form an attack upon the walls, and provided ladders. Whilst he was doing these things, the next night, he made the Chaldeans and Persians mount that part of the Sardian fortifications that was thought the most inaccessible; and a certain Persian led them the way, who had been a slave to one of the garrisons in the citadel, and had learnt the descent down to the river and the ascent from it. As soon as it was known that the heights above were taken, all the Lydians fled from the walls, every one shifting for themselves as they were able. Cyrus, as soon as it was day, entered the city, and gave out orders, that no one should stir from rank. Crœsus, shut up in his palace, called out upon Cyrus, but Cyrus, leaving a guard upon Crœsus, turned off, and mounted up to the castle that was taken.

And when he saw the Persians keeping guard there, as became them, and the arms of the Chaldeans left alone; (for they themselves were run down to plunder the houses;) he presently summoned their commanders, and bid them quit the army immediately; "for I cannot bear," said he, "to see disorderly men get the advantage of others. And be it known to you," said he, "I was providing to manage so, as to make all the Chaldeans pronounce those fortunate and happy that engaged

Digitized by Google

with me in the war; but now," said he, "do not wonder if somebody, superior to you in strength, happen to meet with you as you go off." The Chaldeans, hearing this, were in great terror, "begged him to allay his anger," and said, "that they would restore him all the rich effects they had taken." He told them, "that he was not in any want of them; but," said he, "if you would ease me of my trouble and concern, give up all that you have got to those that keep guard in the castle; for, when the rest of the soldiers find that the orderly are the better for their being so, all will be well with me." The Chaldeans did as Cyrus had commanded them, and they, that had been obedient to their orders, got a great many rich effects of all kinds. Then Cyrus, having encamped his men towards that part of the city that he thought the most convenient, gave them all orders to stand to their arms, and take their dinners; and, having done this, he ordered Crœsus to be brought to him.

Crœsus, as soon as he saw Cyrus, said, "Joy and happiness to you, my sovereign lord! for, from henceforward, fortune has ordered you to receive that name, and me to give it you." "The same I wish to you, Crœsus," said he, "since we are men both of us. But, Crœsus," said he, "would you give me a little advice?" "I wish, Cyrus," said he, "that I were able to find any good for you, for I believe it might be of advantage to myself." "Hear then, Crœsus," said he; "observing that the soldiers, after having undergone many fatigues, and run many dangers, reckon themselves now in possession of the richest city in Asia, next to Babylon, I think it fit that they should receive some profit in return; for, I make account," said he, "that, unless they receive some fruit of their labours, I shall not have them long obedient to my orders: but I am not willing to give them up the city to plunder; for I believe that the city would be destroyed by it;

Digitized by Google

and, in a plunder, I know very well, that the worst of our men would have the advantage of the best." Crœsus, hearing this, said, "Allow me," said he, "to speak to such of the Lydians as I think fit, and to tell them, that I have prevailed with you not to plunder, nor to suffer our wives and children to be taken from us; but have promised you, that, in lieu of these, you shall certainly have from the Lydians, of their own accord, whatever there is of worth and value in Sardes. For, when they hear this, I know they will bring out whatever there is here of value in the possession either of man or woman. And yet, by that time the year comes about, the city will be again in like manner full of things of value in great abundance; but, if you plunder it, you will have all manner of arts, that are called the springs of riches, and of all things valuable, destroyed. And then you are still at liberty, after you have seen this, to come and consult, whether you shall plunder the city or no. Send," said he, "in the first place, to my treasures, and let your guards take them from those that have the keeping them for me."

Cyrus agreed to act in all things as Crœsus said. "But, by all means," said he, "tell me how things have fallen out, in consequence of the answers you received upon your application to the Delphian oracle? for you are said to have paid the utmost devotion to Apollo, and to have done every thing at his persuasion." "Indeed, Cyrus," said he, "I could wish that things stood thus with me; but now have I gone on immediately from the beginning, doing things in direct opposition to Apollo." "How so," said Cyrus, "pray inform me; for you tell me things that are unaccountable." "Because," said he, "in the first place, neglecting to consult the god in what I wanted, I made trial of him whether he was able to tell the truth. Now, not only a god, but even men that are of worth, when they find themselves distrusted, have no kindness for those

Digitized by Google

that distrust them. And after he had found me doing things that were absurd, and knew that I was at a great distance from Delphi, then I sent to consult concerning my having sons. He at first made me no answer; but, by my sending him many presents of gold, and many of silver, and by making multitudes of sacrifices, I had rendered him propitious to me, as I thought, and he then, upon my consulting him what I should do that I might have sons, answered, 'that I should have them.' And I had them; for neither in this did he deal falsely with me. But, when I had them, they were of no advantage to me, for one of them continues dumb, and he that was the best of them perished in the flower of his age. Being afflicted with the misfortune of my sons, I sent again, and enquired of the god what to do, that I might pass the remainder of my life in the happiest manner? and he made answer, 'O Crœsus, by the knowledge of thyself, thou wilt pass thy days in happiness!' When I heard this oracle, I was pleased with it, for I thought he had granted me happiness, by commanding me to do the easiest thing that could be; for, of the rest of men, some, I thought, it was possible for one to know, and some not, but that every man knew what he was himself. After this, during the whole time that I continued in peace, and, after the death of my son, I accused my fortune in nothing. But, when I was persuaded by the Assyrian to make war upon you, I fell into all manner of dangers, but came off safe without getting any harm. Now, neither in this can I lay any thing to the god's charge; for, after I knew myself not to be sufficient to make war with you, with the help of the god, I came off with safety, both myself and those that attended me. But then again, being, as it were, dissolved by the riches I was possessed off, by those that begged me to be their chief, by the presents they made me, and by men that, in flattery, told me, that if I would take upon me the

Digitized by Google

command, all men would obey me, and I should be the greatest of men; and being puffed up by discourses of this kind, as all the kings around chose me their chief in the war, I accepted the command, as if I were sufficient to be the first of men, ignorant of myself, in imagining that I was able to make war with you; you who, in the first place, are descended from the gods, are born of a race of kings, and have been, from a boy, exercised to virtue. But, of my own ancestors, the first that reigned, I have heard, became a king and a freeman at the same time. Having been, therefore," said he, "thus ignorant, I am justly punished for it; but now," said he, "Cyrus, I know myself. And can you yet think that the words of Apollo are true, that, by knowing myself, I shall be happy? Of you I make the enquiry, for this reason, because you seem to me to be the best able to guess at it at this time, for you can make it good."

Then Cyrus said, "Do you give me your opinion, Crœsus, upon this; for, taking into consideration your former happiness, I have compassion for you, and now give up into your possession the wife that you have, together with your daughters, (for daughters I hear you have) your friends, servants, and table that you used to keep, but combats and wars I cut you off from." "By Jove, then," said Crœsus, "consult no farther to make me an answer concerning my happiness, for, I tell you already, if you do these things for me that you say you will, that then I am already in possession of that course of life that others have, by my confession, thought the happiest, and I shall continue on in it." Then Cyrus said, "Who is he that is in possession of that happy course of life?" "My own wife, Cyrus," said he; "for she shared equally with me in all tender, good, pleasing, and agreeable things; but in the cares about the success of these things in wars and battles, she shared not at all. So that, in my opi-

Digitized by Google

nion, you provide for me in the manner that I did for the person that, of all mankind, I loved the most; so that I think myself indebted to Apollo in some farther presents of gratitude and thanks." Cyrus, hearing this discourse, admired his good humour; and he carried him about with him wherever he went, either thinking that he was of use, or reckoning it the safest way to do so. Thus then they went to rest.

The next day Cyrus, calling together his friends and the commanders of the army, ordered some of them to receive the treasures, and some to take from amongst all the riches that Crœsus should deliver up, first, for the gods, such of them as the Mages should direct; then to receive the rest, put it into chests, and pack it up in the waggons, putting the waggons to the lot, and so to convey it wherever they went, that, when opportunity served, they might every one receive their deserved share. These men did so accordingly.

And Cyrus, calling to some of his servants, that were there, attending him, "Tell me," said he, "has any of you seen Abradatas? for I admire that he, who was so frequently in our company before, now does not appear." One of the servants, therefore, replied, "My sovereign, it is, because he is not living, but died in the battle as he broke in with his chariot upon the Egyptians. All the rest of them, except his particular companions, they say, turned off, when they saw the Egyptians' compact body. His wife is now said to have taken up his dead body, to have placed it in the carriage that she herself was conveyed in, and to have brought it hither, to some place upon the river Pactolus, and her eunuchs and servant, they say, are digging a grave for the deceased upon a certain elevation. They say, that his wife, after having set him out with all the ornaments she has, is sitting upon the ground with his head upon her knees." Cyrus, hearing this,

Digitized by Google

gave himself a blow upon the thigh, mounted his horse presently, at a leap, and taking with him a thousand horse, rode away to this scene of affliction; but gave orders to Gadatas and Gobrias, to take with them all the rich ornaments proper for a friend and an excellent man deceased, and to follow after him; and whoever had herds of cattle with him, he ordered them to take both oxen and horses, and sheep, in good number, and to bring them away to the place, where, by enquiry, they should find him to be, that he might sacrifice there to Abradatas.

As soon as he saw the woman sitting upon the ground, and the dead body there lying, he shed tears at the afflicting sight, and said, "Alas! thou brave and faithful soul! hast thou left us!—and art thou gone!" At the same time he took him by the right hand, and the hand of the deceased came away, for it had been cut off with a sword by the Egyptians. He, at the sight of this, became yet much more concerned than before. The woman shrieked out in a lamentable manner, and, taking the hand from Cyrus, kissed it, fitted it to its proper place again, as well as she could, and said, "The rest, Cyrus, is in the same condition; but what need you see it?—And I know, that I was not one of the least concerned in these his sufferings; and, perhaps, you were not less so; for I, fool that I was! frequently exhorted him to behave in such a manner, as to appear a friend to you, worthy of notice; and, I know, he never thought of what he himself should suffer, but of what he should do to please you. He is dead, therefore," said she, "without reproach, and I, who urged him on, sit here alive!" Cyrus, shedding tears, for some time, in silence, then spoke: "He has died, woman, the noblest death, for he has died victorious! do you adorn him with these things that I furnish you with. (And Gobrias and Gadatas were then come up, and

Digitized by Google

had brought rich ornaments, in great abundance, with them.) Then," said he, "be assured he shall not want respect and honour in all other things; but, over and above, multitudes shall concur in raising him a monument that shall be worthy of us; and all the sacrifices shall be made him that are proper to be made in honour of a brave man. You," said he, "shall not be left destitute, but, for the sake of your modesty and every other virtue, I will pay you all other honours, as well as place those about you who shall convey you whereever you please. Do but you make it known to me who it is that you desire to be conveyed to." And Panthea replied, "Be confident, Cyrus," said she, "I will not conceal from you, who it is that I desire to go to."

He, having said this, went away with great pity for the woman, that she should have lost such a husband, and for the man that he should have left such a wife behind him, never to see her more. The woman gave orders to her eunuchs to retire, "till such time," said she, "as I have lamented my husband as I please." Her nurse she bid to stay, and gave her orders, that, when she was dead, she should wrap her and her husband up in one mantle together. The nurse, after having repeatedly begged her not to do thus, and meeting with no success, but observing her to grow angry, sat herself down, breaking out into tears. She, being beforehand provided with a sword, killed herself, and laying her head down upon her husband's breast, she died. The nurse set up a lamentable cry, and covered them both as Panthea had directed.

Cyrus, as soon as he was informed of what the woman had done, being struck with it, went to help her if he could. The eunuchs, being three in number, seeing what had been done, drew their swords and killed themselves, as they stood at the place where she had ordered them. And the monument

Digitized by Google

is now said to have been raised by continuing the mount on to the eunuchs; and, upon a pillar above, they say, the names of the man and woman were written in Syriac letters. Below, they say, there were three pillars, and that they were inscribed thus—"Of the eunuchs." Cyrus, when he came to this melancholy scene, was struck with admiration of the woman, and having lamented over her, went away. He took care of them, as was proper, that all the funeral rites should be paid them in the noblest manner; and the monument, they say, was raised up to a very great size.

After this the Carians, falling into factions, and the parties making war upon each other, and having their habitations in places of strength, both called in Cyrus. Cyrus, remaining at Sardes, made engines and battering-rams to demolish the walls of those that should refuse to submit; and sent Adusius, a Persian, one who was not unable, in other respects, nor unskilled in war, and a very agreeable man, into Caria, and gave him an army. The Cilicians and Cyprians very readily engaged with him in that service; for which reason he never sent a Persian as governor over the Cilicians or Cyprians, but contented himself with their national kings, only receiving a tribute from them, and appointing them their quotas for military service whenever he should want them. Adusius, at the head of his army, came into Caria; and, from both parties of the Carians, there were people that came to him, and were ready to admit him into their places of strength, to the prejudice of their opposite faction.

Adusius behaved to both in this manner: whichever of the parties he conferred with, he told them that what they said was just; he said that they must needs keep it concealed from their antagonists, that he and they were friends, that, by this means, he might fall upon their antagonists whilst they were unprepared. As testimonials of their faith, he re-

Digitized by Google

quired, that the Carians should swear, without fraud, to admit him and his people into their places of strength, for the service of Cyrus and of the Persians; and he would himself make oath to enter their places of strength for the service of those that admitted him. Having done this, then privately and unknown to each other, he appointed them both the same night: and that night he got within their walls, and seized the fortifications of both. As soon as day came, he sat himself between them, with his army about him, and summoned the proper persons on both sides to attend. These men, when they saw each other, were astonished, and thought themselves both deceived. And Adusius spoke to this effect: "I swore to you, men of Caria, that I would, without fraud, enter your fortifications, to the advantage of those that admitted me; therefore, if I destroy either of you, I reckon that I have made this entry to the damage of the Carians; but, if I procure you peace, and liberty to you both to cultivate your lands with security, I then reckon I am come for your advantage. From this day, therefore, it is your part to join in correspondence with each other, in a friendly manner, to cultivate your lands, to give and receive each other's children mutually in marriage; and, if any one attempt to deal unjustly in any of these matters, to all such Cyrus and we will be enemies." After this the gates of the fortresses were thrown open, the ways were full of people, passing from one to another, the lands were full of labourers, they celebrated festivals in common, and all was full of peace and satisfaction.

Meanwhile there came people from Cyrus, to enquire whether he wanted either a reinforcement or engines. Adusius returned answer, "That, for the present, he might turn his forces another way." And, at the same time that he made this answer, he led the army away, leaving garrisons in the castles. The Carians prayed him to stay, and, upon

Digitized by Google

his refusal, they sent to Cyrus, begging him to send Adusius to them as their governor. Cyrus, meanwhile, had sent Hystaspes away with an army to Phrygia on the Hellespont; and, when Adusius arrived, he ordered him to lead his army on in the way that Hystaspes was gone before, that those people might the more readily submit to Hystaspes, when they heard that there was another army advancing. The Greeks, that inhabited upon the sea-side, prevailed, by many presents, not to admit the barbarians within their walls; but they engaged to pay a tribute, and serve in war where Cyrus should command them. The king of Phrygia prepared himself, as intending to keep possession of his places of strength, and not to submit, and he sent word accordingly. But when the commanders under him revolted from him, he became destitute, and at last fell into the hands of Hystaspes, to receive the punishment that Cyrus should think fit to inflict upon him. Hystaspes then, leaving strong Persian garrisons in the castles, went away, and, together with his own men, carried off considerable numbers of the Phrygians, both horse and shield-men. Cyrus sent orders to Adusius to join Hystaspes, and to take such of the Phrygians as took part with them, and bring them away, with their arms; but such as had shown an inclination to make war upon them, to take both their horses and arms from them, and command them all to attend them with slings. These men did accordingly.

Cyrus then set forward from Sardes, leaving there a numerous Persian garrison, and taking Crœsus with him, and a great many waggons loaded with abundance of rich effects of all kinds. And Crœsus came to him with an exact account in writing of what was in each waggon, and delivering the writings to Cyrus, said, "By these, Cyrus," said he, "you will know who it is that justly delivers the things that he takes with him into his charge, and

Digitized by Google

who it is that does not." Then Cyrus said, "You do extremely well, Crœsus, in being thus provident and careful; but they that have the charge of these things for me, are such as deserve to have them, so that if they steal any of them, they steal what belongs to themselves." At the same time he delivered the writings to his friends and chief officers, that they might know which of those that were intrusted with these things delivered them up to them safe, and which of them did not. Such of the Lydians as he saw setting themselves out handsomely in their arms, horses, and chariots, and using all their endeavours to do what they thought would please him, these he took with him in arms. But from those that he saw attended with dissatisfaction, he took their horses, and gave them to the Persians that first engaged in the service with him, he burnt their arms, and obliged them to follow with slings. And all those that he disarmed, of the several nations that he subjected, he obliged them to practise the sling, reckoning it a servile sort of arms: for there are occasions when slingers, accompanied with other forces, are of very great use; but, when a force consists all of slingers, they are not able, of themselves, to stand against a very few men, that march up close upon them with arms proper for close engagement.

In his march to Babylon he overthrew the Phrygians of the Greater Phrygia. He overthrew the Cappadocians, and he subjected the Arabians. And out of all these he armed no less than forty thousand Persian horsemen. Abundance of the horses, that belonged to prisoners taken, he distributed amongst all his allies. He came at last to Babylon, bringing with him a mighty multitude of horse, a mighty multitude of archers and javelin-men, but slingers innumerable.

When Cyrus got to Babylon, he posted his whole army round the city, then rode round the city him-

Digitized by Google

self, together with his friends, and with such of his allies as he thought proper. When he had taken a view of the walls, he prepared for drawing off the army from before the city, and a certain deserter coming off, told him, that they intended to fall upon him when he drew off the army. "For, as they took their view from the walls," said he, "your phalanx appeared to them to be but weak." And no wonder that it really was so: for his men encompassing a great extent of wall, the phalanx was, of necessity, to be drawn out into but little depth. Cyrus having heard this, and standing in the centre of his army, with those that were about him, gave orders that the heavy-armed men, from both the extremities, folding up the phalanx, should move away, along by that part of the army that stood still, till each extremity came up and joined in the centre. Upon their doing this, therefore, it gave the greater courage to those that stood, because they were now of double the depth they were of before; and it gave courage, in like manner, to those that moved away, for they that stood their ground were immediately upon the enemy. When both the extremities marched and joined up to each other, they stood still, being now much the stronger; they that moved off, by means of those that were before them, and they that were in front, by means of those that were now behind them. The phalanx being thus folded up, the best men came of necessity to be ranged first and last, and the worst in the middle. And a disposition of this kind seemed to be the best adapted both for fighting and to prevent flight. Then the horse and light-armed men, upon the wings, came up nearer always to the commander in chief, as the phalanx became less extended by being thus doubled in depth. When they were thus collected together, they retreated, by falling back till they got perfectly out of weapon's cast from the walls; when they were got out of weapon's cast, they

Digitized by Google

turned, and moving forward a few steps, they turned again to their shields about, and stood facing the walls; and the greater distance they were off, so much the seldomer they faced about; and when they thought themselves safe, they made off in a continued march till they reached their tents.

When they were encamped, Cyrus summoned to him the proper persons, and said, "Friends and allies, we have taken a view of the city round, and I don't find that I can discover how it is possible for one, by any attack, to make one's self master of walls that are so strong and so high. But the greater the numbers of men in the city are, (since they venture not out to fight,) so much the sooner, in my opinion, they may be taken by famine. Therefore, unless you have some other method to propose, I say, that these men must be besieged and taken in that manner." Then Chrysantas said, "Does not this river, that is above two stades over, run through the midst of the city?" "Yes, by Jove," said Gobrias, "and it is of so great a depth, that two men, one standing upon the other, would not reach above the water, so that the city is yet stronger by the river than by its walls." Then Cyrus said, "Chrysantas, let us lay aside these things that are above our force: it is our business, as soon as possible, to dig as broad and as deep a ditch as we can, each part of us measuring out his proportion, that, by this means, we may want the fewer men to keep watch."

So measuring out the ground around the wall, and from the side of the river, leaving a space sufficient for large turrets, he dug round the wall, on every side, a very great ditch, and they threw up the earth towards themselves. In the first place, he built the turrets upon the river, laying their foundation upon palm-trees, that were not less than a hundred feet in length. For there are those of them that grow even to a yet greater length than that,

Digitized by Google

and palm-trees, that are pressed, bend up under the weight as asses do, that are used to the pack-saddle. He placed the turrets upon these, for this reason, that it might carry the stronger appearance of his preparing to block up the city, and as if he intended that, if the river made its way into the ditch, it might not carry off the turrets. He raised likewise a great many other turrets upon the rampart of earth, that he might have as many places as were proper for his watches. These people were thus employed. But they that were within the walls laughed at this blockade, as being themselves provided with necessaries for above twenty years. Cyrus, hearing this, divided his army into twelve parts, as if he intended that each part should serve upon the watch one month in the year. And, when the Babylonians heard this, they laughed yet more than before; thinking with themselves, that they were to be watched by the Phrygians, Lydians, Arabians, and Cappadocians, men that were better affected to them than they were to the Persians. The ditches were now finished.

And Cyrus, when he heard that they were celebrating a festival in Babylon, in which all the Babylonians drank and revelled the whole night; upon that occasion, as soon as it grew dark, took a number of men with him, and opened the ditches into the river. When this was done, the water run off in the night by the ditches, and the passage of the river through the city became passable. When the affair of the river was thus managed, Cyrus gave orders to the Persian commanders of thousands, both foot and horse, to attend him, each with his thousand drawn up two in front, and the rest of the allies to follow in the rear, ranged as they used to be before. They came accordingly. Then he making those that attended his person, both foot and horse, to go down into the dry part of the river, ordered them to try whether the channel of the river

Digitized by Google

was passable. And, when they brought him word that it was passable, he then called together the commanders both of foot and horse, and spoke to them in this manner:

"The river, my friends, has yielded us a passage into the city: let us boldly enter, and not fear any thing within, considering that these people, that we are now to march against, are the same that we defeated while they had their allies attending them, while they were awake, sober, armed, and in order. But now we march to them at a time that many of them are asleep, many drunk, and all of them in confusion, and when they discover that we are got in, they will then, by means of their consternation, be yet more unfit for service than they are now. But in case any one apprehend, (what is said to be terrible to those that enter a city,) lest, mounting to the tops of their houses, they discharge down upon us on every side. As to this, be still more at ease; for, if they mount to the tops of their houses, we have then the god Vulcan for our fellow combatant; their porches are easily set fire to, their doors are made of the palm-tree, and anointed over with bituminous matter, which will nourish the flame. We have torches in abundance, that will presently take fire; we have plenty of pitch and tow, that will immediately raise a mighty flame; so that they must, of necessity, fly from off their houses immediately, or immediately be burnt. Come on then; take to your arms, and, with the help of the gods, I'll lead you on. Do you," said he, "Gobrias and Gadatas, show us the ways; for you are acquainted with them, and, when we are got in, lead us the readiest way to the palace." "It may be no wonder, perhaps," said they that were with Gobrias, "if the doors of the palace are open, for the city seems to-night to be in a general revel, but we shall meet with a guard at the gates, for there is always one set there." "We must not then be re-

Digitized by Google

miss," said Cyrus, "but march, that we take them as much unprepared as is possible."

When this was said, they marched; and, of those that they met with, some they fell upon and killed, some fled, and some set up a clamour. They that were with Gobrias, joined in the clamour with them, as if they were revellers themselves, and, marching on the shortest way that they could, they got round about the palace. Then they that attended Gadatas and Gobrias in military order, found the doors of the palace shut; and they that were posted opposite to the guards fell in upon them, as they were drinking, with a great deal of light around them, and used them immediately in a hostile manner. As soon as the noise and clamour began, they that were within, perceiving the disturbance, and the king commanding them to examine what the matter was, run out, throwing open the gates. They that were with Gadatas, as soon as they saw the gates loose, broke in, pressing forward upon the runaways, and, dealing their blows amongst them, they came up to the king, and found him now in a standing posture, with his sword drawn. They that were with Gadatas and Gobrias, being many in number, mastered him; they likewise that were with him were killed; one holding up something before him, another flying, and another defending himself with any thing that he could meet with. Cyrus sent a body of horse up and down through the streets, bidding them kill those that they found abroad, and ordering some, who understood the Syrian language, to proclaim it to those that were in the houses to remain within, and that, if any were found abroad, they should be killed. These men did accordingly. Gadatas and Gobrias then came up, and, having first paid their adoration to the gods, for the revenge they had had upon their impious king, they then kissed the hands and feet of Cyrus, shedding many tears in the midst of their joy and satisfaction.

Digitized by Google

When day came, and they that guarded the castles perceived that the city was taken and the king dead, they gave up the castles. Cyrus immediately took possession of the castles, and sent commanders, with garrisons, into them. He gave up the dead to be buried by their relations, and ordered heralds to make proclamation, that the Babylonians should bring out their arms, and made it be declared that, in whatever house any arms should be found, all the people in it should suffer death. They accordingly brought out their arms, and Cyrus had them deposited in the castles, that they might be ready, in case he should want them upon any future occasion.

When these things had been done, then, first summoning the mages, he commanded them to choose out for the gods, the first fruits of certain portions of ground for sacred use, as out of a city taken by the sword. After this he distributed houses and palaces to those that he reckoned had been sharers with him in all the actions that had been performed. He made the distributions in the manner that had been determined; the best things to the best deserving, and if any one thought himself wronged, he ordered him to come and acquaint him with it. He gave out orders to the Babylonians to cultivate their land, to pay their taxes, and to serve those that they were severally given to. The Persians, and such as were his fellow-sharers, and those of his allies, that chose to remain with him, he ordered to talk as masters of those they had received.

After this, Cyrus, desiring now to set himself upon such a foot as he thought becoming a king, that he might appear but seldom, and in an awful manner, with the least envy that was possible; was of opinion to effect it with the consent of his friends, he contrived it, therefore, in this manner: as soon as it was day, taking a station in some place, where

Digitized by Google

he thought it proper, he admitted any one that had a mind to speak with him, and, after having given him his answer, dismissed him. The people, as soon as they knew he gave admittance, resorted to the place in disorderly and unmanageable multitudes, and, by their pressing round about the entrance, there was a mighty struggle and contention, and the servants that attended, distinguishing as well as they could, let them in. When any of his friends, by pressing their way through the crowd, appeared before him, Cyrus, holding out his hand, drew them to him, and spoke to them thus: "Wait here, my friends, till we have dispatched the crowd, and then we will confer at leisure." His friends waited, and the crowd flocked in more and more, till the evening came on upon them, before he could be at leisure to confer with his friends. So Cyrus then spoke: "Now, good people," said he, "it is time to separate; come again to-morrow morning, for I have a mind to have some discourse with you." His friends, hearing this, run off, and went their way with great satisfaction, having done penance in the want of all kind of necessaries. Thus they went to rest. The next day Cyrus attended at the same place; and a much greater multitude of people, that were desirous to be admitted to him, stood round about, attending much sooner than his friends. Cyrus, therefore, forming a large circle of Persian lance-men, bid them let none pass but his friends, and the Persian commanders, and the commanders of his allies. When these men were met, he spoke to them to this effect:

"Friends and allies, we have nothing that we can lay to the charge of the gods, as not having hitherto effected whatever we have wished for. But if this be the consequence of performing great things, that one cannot obtain a little leisure for one's self, nor enjoy any satisfaction with one's friends, I bid farewell to such happiness. You observed," said

Digitized by Google

he, "yesterday, that, beginning in the morning to give audience to those that came, we did not make an end before the evening; and now you see that these, and many more than those that attended yesterday, are hereabout, intending to give us trouble. If one submit one's self, therefore, to this, I reckon that but a very little part of me will fall to your share, and but a little of you to mine; and in myself, I know very well, I shall have no share at all. Besides," said he, "there is another ridiculous thing that I take notice of: I stand affected to you, as it is natural for me to do; but, of those that stand here around, I may know, here and there, one, or, perhaps, none at all; and these men stand so disposed, as to think that, if they can get the better of you in crowding, they shall effect what they desire at my hands sooner than you shall. Yet I should think it proper, that, if any of them want me, they should make their court to you, that are my friends, and beg to be introduced. But somebody then, perhaps, may say, "Why did not I set myself upon this foot from the beginning? and why did I give myself up so in common?" Why, because I knew that the affairs of war were of such a nature, that the commander ought not to be behind-hand either in knowing what was fit to be known, or in executing what the occasion required. And such commanders as were seldom to be seen, I thought, let slip many things that were proper to be done. But, since war, that requires the utmost labour and diligence, is now ceased, my own mind seems to me to require some rest: as I am, therefore, at a loss what to do, that our own affairs and those of others, that it is our part to take care of, may be established upon the best foot, let some one or other give us such advice as he thinks the most advantageous." Thus Cyrus spoke.

Then Artabazus, he who had said, heretofore, that he was his relation, rose up after him and spoke.

Digitized by Google

"You have done very well, Cyrus," said he, "in beginning this discourse; for, while you were yet very young, I set out with a desire to be your friend, but observing that you were not at all in want of me, I neglected coming to you. When you came afterwards to want me, as a zealous deliverer of Cyaxares's orders to the Medes, I counted upon it, that, if I undertook this for you with zeal, I should become your intimate friend, and converse with you as long as I pleased. These things were so effectually done, that I had your commendation. After this, the Hyrcanians first became our friends, and this while we were in great distress for assistants; so that, in the transport, we almost carried them about with us in our arms. After this, when the enemy's camp was taken, I did not think that you were at leisure for me, and I excused you: after this Gobrias became your friend, and I was rejoiced at it: then Gadatas too, and it became a downright labour to share of you. When the Sacians and Cadusians became your allies and friends, it was, probably, very fit for them to cultivate and serve them, for they had served you. When we came back again to the place from whence we set out, then seeing you taken up with your horse, your chariots, and your engines, I thought that, when you were at leisure from all this, then you would have leisure for me. But, when the terrible message came, that all mankind were assembling against us, I determined with myself, that this was the decisive affair; and, if things succeeded well here, I thought myself sure that we should then plentifully enjoy each other's company and converse. Now we have fought the decisive battle, and conquered; we have Sardes and Crœsus in our hands; Babylon we have taken; and we have borne down all before us; and yet, by the god Mithres! yesterday, had not I made my way with my fist through the multitude, I had not been able to get to you. And, when you had taken me

Digitized by Google

by the hand, and bid me stay by you, then there I stood to be gazed at, for passing the whole day with you without either meat or drink. Now, therefore, if any means can be found, that they who have been the most deserving shall have the greatest share of you, it is well; if not, then would I again give out orders from you, that all should depart, excepting us, that have been your friends from the beginning."

At this Cyrus and many others laughed. Then Chrysantas, the Persian, rose, and spoke thus: "Heretofore, probably, Cyrus, you kept yourself open to the eyes of all, for the reasons you have yourself expressed, and because we were not the people that you were chiefly to cultivate, for we attended for our own sakes, but your business was, by all methods, to gain the multitude, that they might, with all possible satisfaction, be ready to undergo labours and run dangers with us. But, since you are not only in circumstances to do this, but are able to acquire others that you may have occasion for, it is now very fit that you have a house yourself. Or what enjoyment can you have of your command, if you are the only one that does not share a home? than which there is no place that to men is more sacred, none more agreeable to them, and none nearer to them in their affections. And then," said he, "do not you think, that we must be ashamed to see you abroad, faring hard, when we ourselves are in houses, and seem to have so much the advantage of you?" When Chrysantas had said this, many more concurred with him in it.

After this he entered the royal palace, and they that conveyed the treasures from Sardes delivered them up here. When Cyrus entered, he first sacrificed to the goddess Vesta, and then to Regal Jove, and to whatever other deity the Mages thought proper. Having done this, he now began to regulate other affairs; and considering what his business was, and that he was taking upon him the govern-

Digitized by Google

ment of great multitudes of men, he prepared to take up his habitation in the greatest city of all that were of note in the world, and this city had as great enmity to him as any city could have to a man.

Taking these things into his consideration, he thought himself in want of a guard about his person; and well knowing that men are at no time so much exposed as while they are eating, or drinking, or bathing, or upon their bed, or asleep, he examined with himself what sort of people he might have about him, that might be best trusted upon those occasions; and he was of opinion, that no man could ever be trusted, who should love another more than the person who wanted his guard. Those men, therefore, that had sons or wives, that were agreeable to them, or youths that they were fond of, he judged to be under a natural necessity of loving them best. And observing that eunuchs were deprived of all these things, he thought that they would have the greatest affection for those that were able to enrich them the most, to redress them in case of any wrong done them, and to bestow honours upon them: and, in his bounty to these people, he thought that no one could exceed himself. Besides all this, eunuchs, being the object of other men's contempt, are, for this reason, in want of a master to countenance and support them; for there is no man that does not think it his due to assume the upper hand of a eunuch in every thing, unless some superior power control him in it; but nothing hinders a eunuch from having the upper hand of all in his fidelity to his master. That eunuchs were destitute of all vigour, which is what most people think; this did not appear to him to be so, and he grounded his argument upon the example of other animals; for vicious horses, when they are cut, give over biting, indeed, and being vicious, but are not at all the less fit for service in war. And bulls, that are so served, throw off their insolence

Digitized by Google

and untractableness, but they are not deprived of their strength and fitness for labour. Dogs, in like manner, that are cut, give over the trick of leaving their masters; but, for their watching, and their use in hunting, they are not at all the worse. And men, in the same manner, become the more gentle by being deprived of this desire; but they are not the less careful of things that are given them in charge, nor are they worse horsemen, nor less able at throwing of the javelin, nor less desirous of honour. And they have made it evident, that, both in war and in hunting, they still preserve emulation in their minds. And, with respect to their fidelity, upon occasion of their masters' being destroyed, they have stood the greatest trials; and no men have ever shown greater instances of fidelity in the misfortunes of their masters, than eunuchs have done. But, if they may be thought to have lost something of the strength of their bodies, arms, perhaps, may make it up, and put the weak and the strong upon the same level in war.

Judging things to be thus, he began from his door-keepers, and made all those that officiated about his person to be eunuchs. But then being of opinion, that this was not a sufficient guard against the great multitude of people that were disaffected towards him, he considered whom he should take from amongst all the rest, as the most faithful for his guard around the palace. Observing, therefore, that the Persians, while at home, were those that fared the hardest upon the account of their poverty, and lived in the most laborious manner, because their country was rocky and barren, and they themselves forced to work with their own hands, he thought these would be the most pleased with that sort of life that they lived with him. Out of these, therefore, he took ten thousand lance-men, who kept guard, both night and day, round about the palace, whilst he kept quiet at home; and, when he

Digitized by Google

went abroad, they marched with him, ranged in order on every side of him. Then thinking it necessary that there should be a guard sufficient for the whole city, whether he were there present himself, or absent abroad, he established a sufficient garrison in Babylon, and appointed the Babylonians to supply these men likewise with their pay, intending to distress them as much as he could, that they might be reduced to the lowest condition, and be the most easily managed. This guard, that was then established about his own person and in Babylon, continues upon the same foot at this day.

Then taking into his consideration how his whole dominion might be maintained, and more might be acquired, he was of opinion, that these mercenaries were not so much better than the people subjected, as they were fewer in number. He determined, therefore, that he ought to retain those brave men, who had, with the assistance of the gods, helped him to his conquest, and to take care that they should not grow remiss in the practice of virtue. And, that he might not seem to order and direct them, but that, as judging of themselves what was best, they might persevere in virtue, and cultivate it, he called together the alike-honoured, and all such as were proper, as well as those whom he thought worthy to share with him, both in his labours and advantages, and, when they were met, he spoke to this effect:

"My friends and allies, we owe the greatest thanks to the gods, for having granted us the things of which we thought ourselves worthy; for we are now possessed of a very large and noble country, and of people who, by their labour in the culture of it, will maintain us. We have houses and furniture in them; and let none of you imagine that, by this possession, he holds things that are foreign and not belonging to him; for it is a perpetual law amongst all men, that, when a city is taken from an

Digitized by Google

enemy, both the persons and treasures of the inhabitants belong to the captors. Whatever it is, therefore, that you possess, you do not possess it unjustly; but, whatever you suffer them to keep, it is in benignity and love to mankind that you do not take it away. As to the time to come, my judgment is this: if we turn ourselves to a negligent and abandoned course of life, and to the luxury and pleasure of vicious men, who think labour to be the greatest misery, and a life of ease to be a pleasure, then, I say, we shall presently become of less value in ourselves, and shall presently lose all our advantages. For, to have been once brave men is not sufficient in order to continue brave men, unless one continue careful of one's self to the end. But as all other arts, when neglected, sink in their worth; and, as in the case of our bodies, when in good condition, if we abandon them to a course of laziness and inactivity, they become again faulty and deficient; so a discreet temper of mind, temperance, and the command of our passions, and courage, when a man remits the practice of them, from thenceforward turn again into vice. We ought not, therefore, to be remiss, nor throw ourselves immediately upon every present pleasure; for I think it a great thing to acquire a dominion, and yet a greater to preserve it when acquired. For, to acquire often befalls a man who contributes nothing towards it but boldness in the attempt; but, to preserve an acquisition that one has made, this cannot be done without discretion, nor without the command of one's passions, nor without much care; and knowing things to be thus, we ought to be much more careful in the practice of virtue now, than before we made these valuable acquisitions; well knowing that, when a man has most in his possession, he then most abounds in those that envy him, that form designs against him, and that are his enemies; especially if he hold the possessions and service

Digitized by Google

of men, as we do, against their wills. The gods, we ought to believe, will be with us; for we are not got into an unjust possession of these things, by designs and contrivances of our own to get them, but upon designs that have been formed against us, we have revenged ourselves in the punishment of the contrivers. The next best thing, after this, is what we must take care to provide ourselves with; and that is, to be better than the people that are subjected, and to deserve to rule. In heat, therefore, and in cold, in meat and drink, in labours and in rest, we must, of necessity, allow our servants a share. But, while we share with them in these things, we should endeavour to appear superior to them in all of them; but, in the knowledge and practice of military affairs, we are not to allow any share at all to such as we intend to have as labourers and tributaries to us, but in all exercises of this kind, we must preserve the ascendant; determining within ourselves that the gods have set these things before men, as the instruments and means of liberty and happiness. And as we have taken arms away from them, so ought we never to be without them ourselves; well knowing, that they who have always their arms the nearest at hand, have what they desire the most at their command. If any one suggest to himself such things as these; as, what advantage is it to us to effect what we desire, if we must still bear hunger and thirst, labour and application? This man ought to learn, that good things give so much the more delight, as one takes the more pains before-hand to attain them. Labour and pains are what give a relish to all good things. Without being in want of a thing, there is nothing that can be acquired, though ever so noble, that can be pleasant. If some divinity have afforded us the things that men most desire; in order to have them appear the pleasantest, every one will make them so to himself. And such a man will have as

Digitized by Google

much the advantage of those that live more necessitous, as he will get the pleasantest food when he is hungry, enjoy the pleasantest drink when he is thirsty, and, when he wants rest, can take it in the pleasantest manner. Upon all these accounts, I say, we must charge ourselves with the part of brave and excellent men, that we may enjoy our advantages in the best manner, and with the most pleasure, and that we may never come to experience the greatest hardship in the world; for it is not so hard a matter to gain advantages, as it is afflicting to be deprived of them, after one has obtained them. Consider then what pretence we can have to choose to be worse than before. Is it because we have obtained dominion? But it does not become a prince to be more vicious than those that are under his command. But, perhaps, it may be, because we seem to be more prosperous and happy than before. Will any man say then, that vice is to be indulged to prosperity? But, perhaps, since we have acquired slaves, if they are vicious, we will punish them; and how does it become one, that is vicious himself, to punish others for vice and sloth? Consider this farther, that we are preparing to maintain abundance of men, as guards to our houses and persons; and how can it be otherwise than base in us, to think it fit to have others as guards of our own safety, and not to be guards to ourselves? And you ought to be well assured that there is no other guard so secure as to be one's self an excellent and worthy man. This must keep you company; for, with one that is destitute of virtue, nothing else ought to go well. What then do I say you should do? where practise virtue? where apply to the exercise of it? Nothing new, my friends, will I tell you: but, as the alike-honoured among Persians, pass their time about the courts; so, I say, it is our part, being all alike-honoured here, to practise the same things that are practised there. It is your part to attend

Digitized by Google

here, keeping your eyes upon me, to observe if I continue careful of the things that I ought to be careful of. I will keep my eyes intent upon you, and such as I see practising things good and excellent, I will reward. The sons that we have we shall here instruct; we shall be ourselves the better by being desirous to show ourselves the best examples to them that we can: and the boys will not easily become vicious, not even though they incline to it, when they neither see nor hear any thing that is mean or base, and pass their whole time under excellent institutions."

Digitized by Google

CYROPÆDIA;

OR, THE

INSTITUTION OF CYRUS.

BOOK VIII.

THUS then Cyrus spoke; after him Chrysantas rose and spoke in this manner: "I have frequently, at other times, observed, my friends, that a good prince is not at all different from a good father: for fathers are careful to provide that their children may never come to fail of what is for their advantage; and Cyrus seems now to me, to advise us to such things as will make us pass our days in the most fortunate and happy manner. But, what I think he has been defective in laying open, this I will endeavour to explain to those that are not apprized of it; for, have you considered what city belonging to an enemy can possibly be taken by men that are not obedient to command? And what city, that belongs to those that are friends, can be preserved by men that are not obedient? And what army, consisting of men disobedient and refractory, can be victorious? How can men sooner be defeated in battle, than when every one begins separately to consult their own particular safety? or what other valuable thing can be performed by such as do not submit to the direction of their betters? What cities a

Digitized by Google

are they that are justly and wisely regulated? What are those families that preserve themselves in safety? And how come ships to arrive whither they are bound? By what other means have we obtained the advantages we have, more than by obedience to our commander? By this we have been presently ready at our proper posts; and by following our commander in compact order, we have been irresistible; and of things that have been given us in charge, we have left none executed by halves. Therefore, if obedience to command be of the greatest advantage, with respect to the making acquisitions, be you assured, that it is, in the same manner, of the greatest advantage with respect to the preserving what is fit for us to preserve. Heretofore we were subject to the commands of many, and commanded none ourselves; but now you are all upon a foot of bearing rule, some over more, and some over less. Therefore, as you desire to rule those that are under you, so let us all submit to those that it becomes us to submit to. We ought to distinguish ourselves so far from slaves, as that slaves do service to their masters against their wills; and, if we desire to be free, we ought willingly to perform what appears to be most excellent and worthy. You will find," said he, "that where a people are under a government that is not monarchical, and are most ready to pay obedience to their rulers, they are always least liable to the necessity of submitting to their enemies. Let us, therefore, attend about the palace as Cyrus orders; let us practise those things that will best enable us to hold what we ought; and let us yield ourselves to Cyrus, to make use of us in what is proper. For you ought to be well assured, that it is not possible for Cyrus to find any thing that he can make an advantage of to himself, and that is not so to us, since the same things are alike serviceable to us both, and we have both the same enemies."

Digitized by Google

When Chrysantas had said this, many more, both Persians and allies, rose up, and spoke to the same effect; and it was determined, that the men of note and quality should always attend at Cyrus's doors, and yield themselves to his service, in whatever he thought fit, till he himself dismissed them. And according as it was then determined, so do those in Asia, that are under the king, do yet at this day: and they attend at the doors of their princes. And as, in this discourse, it is shown how Cyrus established things, in order to secure the dominion to himself and to the Persians; so do the kings, his successors, continue to put the same things in practice as laws to this day. But it is in this, as in other things, when there is a better director, the established rules are executed more strictly, and, when there is a worse, more negligently. The men of note, therefore, frequented the gates of Cyrus with their horses and lances; this being the joint determination of all the best of those that concurred with him in the overthrow of this empire.

Cyrus then constituted different officers to take care of different affairs. He had his receivers of the revenues, his pay-masters, overseers of his works, keepers of his treasures, and officers to provide things that were proper for his table. He appointed, as masters of his horse and of his dogs, such as he thought would provide him with the best of these kinds of creatures for his use. But as to those, whom he thought fit to have as joint guardians of his power and grandeur, he himself took care to have them the best; he did not give this in charge to others, but thought it his own business. He knew that in case he were, at any time, obliged to come to a battle, they that were to stand by him on each side, and to support him in the rear, were to be taken from amongst these; with these he was to engage in the greatest dangers: out of these he knew he was to constitute the commanders of his

Digitized by Google

several bodies of foot and horse, and if he were in want of generals, to serve any where in his own absence, out of these he knew they were to be sent. Some of these he knew he was to use as guardians and satraps of cities and whole nations; and some of them were to be sent out as ambassadors; and this he thought a thing of the greatest consequence with respect to the obtaining what he desired without a war. If they, therefore, that were to be intrusted with the management of most affairs, and of affairs of the greatest consequence, were not such as they should be, he thought matters would go very ill with him; but if they were such as they should be, he reckoned that affairs would go very well.

This being his judgment, he therefore took this care upon him, and he reckoned that he himself was to engage in the same exercise of virtue; for he thought it not possible for one who was not himself such as he should be, to incite others to great and noble actions. Upon these considerations, he thought leisure, in the first place, necessary, if he intended to have it in his power to take care of the principal affairs. He reckoned it therefore impossible for him to be negligent of his revenues; foreseeing that, upon a great dominion, he must of necessity be at a great expence. But then, on the the other side, his possessions being very great, to be himself always taken up about them, he thought, would leave him no leisure to take care of the safety of the whole.

So taking into his consideration how his economy might be settled upon a good foot, and he, at the same time, might have leisure, he observed the order of an army. For as the commanders of tens take care of their several decads; the captains, of the commanders of tens; the commanders of thousands, of the captains; the commanders of ten thousand, of the commanders of thousands; by which means, no one is left without care, though an army consists of many times ten thousand men; and when

Digitized by Google

a general has any service for the army to do, it is enough for him to give his orders to the commanders of ten thousand; in like manner as these affairs were regulated, Cyrus accordingly ranged the affairs of his household under certain heads: and thus Cyrus, by discoursing with a few people, was enabled to have the affairs of his economy taken care of; and, after this, he had yet more leisure than another man, who had but a single house or a single ship in charge. Having thus settled his own affairs, he taught others to use the same method, and so procured leisure both for himself and for those about him.

He then began to take upon him the business of making his companions in power such as they should be. And, in the first place, as many as were able to subsist by the labour of others, and were not attending at his doors, these he enquired into; reckoning, that they who did attend would not be guilty of any base and vile action, both by reason of their being near their prince, and that, in whatever they did, they would be observed by the most excellent men. They that did not attend, he reckoned absented themselves, either out of their indulgence of some vicious passion, or upon the account of some unjust practice, or out of negligence. Being first, therefore, convinced of this in his judgment, he brought all such men under a necessity of attending. For he ordered some one of those about him, that were his chief friends, to seize what belonged to the person that did not attend, and to declare that it belonged to himself. When this was done, they that were dispossessed, immediately came and complained, as persons that had been wronged. Cyrus, for a great while, was not at leisure to give such men a hearing; and, when he had heard them, he deferred the decision of the matter a long while. By acting thus, he thought he accustomed them to make their court, and with less ill

Digitized by Google

will to him than if he himself had forced them to attend, by inflicting punishments upon them. This was one method of instruction that he used, in order to make men attend upon him. Another was, to command those that attended upon such services as were most easy to execute and most profitable. Another was, never to allow the absent a share in any advantage. But the chief method of all that he used to necessitate men to attend was this, that, in case a man did not yield obedience to these other methods, he then took what he had from him, and gave it to another man that he thought would be able to attend upon the proper occasions. And thus he gained a useful friend, instead of a useless one; and the present king still makes enquiry whether any one of those be absent whose part it is to attend.

In this manner did he carry himself to those that did not attend upon him: but those that afforded him their attendance and service, he thought he should best excite to great and noble actions, if he, being their prince, should endeavour to show himself to those whom he governed, the most accomplished of all in virtue; for he thought he observed that men were the better for written laws; but a good prince, he reckoned, was to men a seeing-law, because he was able both to give directions, to see the man that acted irregularly, and to punish him.

This being his judgment, he showed himself, in the first place, the more industrious to discharge himself in all dues to the gods, at that time when he was in the most fortunate circumstances; and then were first appointed certain mages to sing a hymn to the gods, always as soon as it was day, and every day to sacrifice to such deities as the mages should direct. And the establishments that were thus made at that time continue in use with the king, that still succeeds in the government, on to this day. The rest of the Persians, therefore, were

Digitized by Google

the first that followed his example in these things; reckoning, that they should be the more fortunate, if they served the gods as he did, who was the most fortunate of all, and their prince. And they thought, by doing thus, they should please Cyrus. But Cyrus accounted the piety of those about him an advantage to himself; reckoning, as they do, who choose to undertake a voyage in company with men of piety, rather than with such as appear to have been guilty of any thing impious. And, besides this, he reckoned that, if all his associates were religious, they would be the less apt to be guilty of any thing impious towards each other, or towards him, who thought himself their benefactor. Then, by showing himself to be under great concern and fear of doing injury to any friend or ally, and keeping steadily to the rule of justice, he thought that others would abstain the more from base gains, and would take care that their revenue should arise to them by just methods. And he was of opinion, that he should the better inspire other men with respect and awe, if he himself appeared to pay so great a respect to all, as never to say or do any thing shameful and vile: and that it would fall out thus, he grounded his argument upon this; that not only in the case of a prince, but even of such as men had no fear of, they paid more respect to those that behaved respectfully than they did to the impudent. And such women, as they observed to be modest and respectful, they were the more ready to pay respect to. And he thought that a temper of obedience would be the more firmly established in those about him, if he appeared to bestow greater rewards upon the obedient, than upon those that seemed possessed of the greatest and most elaborate virtues. In this opinion, and in this practice, he always continued: and then, by showing his own goodness and modesty of temper, he made all others the more ready to practise it; for when men see one, that has

Digitized by Google

it most in his power to behave with haughtiness and insolence, behave with this modesty and goodness of temper, then even those of the lowest degree are the more willing to be seen acting without any manner of insolence. He distinguished that respect and awe from this goodness of temper in this manner; that they who were possessed with this awe, avoided things that were shameful and vile, while they were exposed to the eyes of others, but that the modest and good-tempered did it even in the dark. He thought, likewise, to make men practise a command of their passions best, by showing that he himself was not drawn away, by present pleasures, from the pursuit of good and excellent things; and that he preferred toil and labour in the pursuit of a noble end before all delights. Being, therefore, such a man himself, he established an excellent order at his doors; the meaner sort submitting to the better, and all behaving with great awe and decency one towards another. You would not see any one there in anger, breaking out into noise and clamour, nor expressing an insulting pleasure in insolent laughter. But to see them, you would think that they really lived in the most comely and noble manner. In the practice of such things as these, and with such things always before their eyes, they passed their days at the doors of Cyrus.

But then, in order to inure them to the practice of military affairs, he led out all those to hunt that he thought proper to exercise in that manner; reckoning this the best method of practising all such things as relate to war, as well as the truest exercise of the art of riding; for this helps them, the most of any thing, to sit firm on horseback, in all sorts of ground, by means of their pursuing the wild beasts in their flight; and this, the most of any thing, makes them capable of acting on horseback, by means of their love of praise and desire of taking their game. And by this he chiefly accustomed his associates to

Digitized by Google

gain a command over their passions, and to be able to bear toil, to bear cold and heat, hunger and thirst. And the king that now reigns, together with those that are about him, continue still the same practice.

It is evident, therefore, by what has been before said, that he thought dominion became no one that was not himself better than those whom he governed; and that by thus exercising these about him, he inured himself, the most of all, to a command of his passions, and to all military arts and exercises. For he led out others abroad to hunt, when there was no necessity that obliged him to stay at home; and, when there was any such necessity, he then hunted the beasts that were maintained in his parks. He never took his supper before he gave himself a sweat, nor did he ever throw food to his horses before they were exercised: and he invited his eunuchs abroad with him to this hunting. He himself, therefore, greatly excelled in all noble performances, and they that were about him likewise did so, by means of their continual exercise. In this manner he made himself an example to others. And, besides this, whosoever he saw the most zealous in the pursuit of generous actions, such he rewarded with presents, with commands, with placing them in the principal seats, and with all other honours. So that he raised a mighty emulation amongst all, to try by what means every one might appear to Cyrus the most deserving.

And, I think, I have likewise heard, concerning Cyrus, that he was of opinion, that princes ought to excel those that are under their dominion, not only in being better than they, but that they ought likewise to play the impostors with them. He chose, therefore, to wear the Median robe, and persuaded his associates to put it on; for, in case a man had any thing defective in his person, he thought that this concealed it, and made those that wore it ap-

Digitized by Google

pear the handsomest and the tallest. And they have a sort of shoe, where they may fit in something under their feet, without its being seen, so as to make themselves appear taller than they really are. He allowed them also to colour their eyes, that they might seem to have finer eyes than they really had, and to paint themselves, that they might appear to be of better complexions than they naturally were of. He took care, likewise, to use them not to be seen to spit, or blow the nose, or to turn aside to gaze at any spectacle, as if they were men that admired nothing. And all these things, he thought, contributed something to their appearing the more awful to the people that were subject to his dominion.

Those that he thought the proper persons to share, by his own means, in the dominion with him, he disciplined in this manner; and by acting himself, at the head of them, in the same venerable and majestic way. But those that he managed for servitude, he never encouraged to the practice of ingenious labours, nor allowed them the possession of arms, but took care that they should never go without their meat and drink for the sake of these liberal exercises; for when, with their horse, they drove out the wild beasts into the plains, he allowed meat and drink to be carried for the use of these people during the hunt, but not for any of the ingenious. And when he was upon a march, he led them to water as he did the beasts of burden, and when the time for dinner came, he waited till they had eaten something, that they might not be distressed with hunger. So that these people, as the better sort likewise did, called him their father, for taking care that, beyond all doubt, they should always continue slaves.

Thus he provided for the security of the whole Persian dominion: but he was very confident, that he himself was in no danger of meeting with any

Digitized by Google

mischief from the people that were conquered, for he reckoned them weak and dispirited, and he observed them destitute of all order, and, besides, none of them ever came near him by night or day. But such as he reckoned the better sort, that he saw armed and in compact order; some of them commanders of horse, and some of foot, and many of them that he perceived with spirits equal to rule, that were next to his own guards, and many of whom were frequently in company with himself, (for there was a necessity that it should be so, because he was to make use of them,) from these there was the most danger of his receiving mischief many ways. Therefore, taking into his consideration how matters might be made safe for him in this respect, to take away their arms from them, and render them unfit for war, he did not approve, both accounting it unjust, and believing it to be a dissolution of his empire. And then again not to admit them to his presence, and openly to distrust them, he reckoned the beginning and foundation of a war. Instead of all these things, there was one that he determined to be the best for his security, and the handsomest of all, which was, to try if possibly he could make the better sort of men more friends to himself than to one another.

By what means, therefore, it was that, in my opinion, he came to be beloved, I will endeavour to relate. For, first, he constantly at all times displayed, as much as he could, his own good-nature and love to mankind; reckoning that, as it is no easy matter for men to love those who seem to hate them, or to bear good-will to those that have ill intentions towards them; so it was not possible for those that were known to love and bear good-will, to be hated by such as thought themselves beloved. Therefore, whilst he had it not so much in his power to bestow rich benefits upon them, he endeavoured to captivate their affections, by preventing his com-

Digitized by Google

panions in care and in pains, by appearing pleased with their advantages, and afflicted at their misfortunes; but when he had wherewithal to be bountiful to them, he seems to me, to have known, in the first place, that there is no benefaction amongst men that is of equal expence, and is so grateful as that of sharing meat and drink with them.

And, being of this opinion, he first regulated his table, so as to have placed before him as many of the same things, that he ate of himself, as were sufficient for great numbers of people. And all that was set before him, except what was used by himself and his guests, he distributed to such of his friends, as he intended to show that he remembered or had a kindness for. He sent likewise about to such as he happened to be pleased with, whether they were employed upon the guard any where, or attended to pay their court to him, or were concerned in any other affairs. And this he did in order to signify, that they who were desirous to do what was pleasing to him, were not be concealed from him. He paid the same honour from his table to his own domestics, when he had a mind to give any of them his commendation. And all the meat that belonged to his domestics he placed upon his own table, thinking that, as in the case of children, so this would gain him some good-will from them. And if he had a mind that any of his friends should have great numbers of people attend and pay their court to them, he sent them presents from his table. For even yet, at this day, all people make the greater court to such as they observe to have things sent them from off the king's table; because they reckon them men in great honour and esteem, and that, in case they want any thing to be done, they are able to effect it for them. And, besides, it is not only upon these accounts, that have been mentioned, that the things sent from the king are pleasing, but things that come from the kings table do really very

Digitized by Google

much excel in point of pleasure. And that it should be so is not at all to be wondered at; for, as other arts are wrought up in great cities to a greater degree of perfection, in the same manner are the meats that come from the king dressed in greater perfection. For, in little cities, the same people make both the frame of a couch, a door, a plough, and a table; and frequently the same person is a builder too, and very well satisfied he is, if he meet with customers enough to maintain him. It is impossible, therefore, for a man that makes a great many different things, to do them all well. But, in great cities, because there are multitudes that want every particular thing, one art alone is sufficient for the maintenance of every one: and frequently not an entire one neither, but one man makes shoes for men, another for women. Sometimes it happens, that one gets a maintenance by sewing shoes together, another by cutting them out, one by cutting out clothes only, and another, without doing any of these things, is maintained by fitting together the pieces so cut out. He, therefore, that deals in a business, that lies within a little compass, must, of necessity, do it the best. The case is the same with respect to the business of a table, for he that has the same man to cover and adorn the frame of a couch, to set out the table, to knead the dough, to dress the several different meats, must necessarily, in my opinion, fare in each particular as it happens. But, where it is business enough for one man to boil meat, for another to roast it, for one to boil fish, and for another to broil it, where it is business enough for one man to make bread, and that not of every sort neither, but that it is enough for him to furnish one sort good, each man, in my opinion, must, of necessity, work up the things that are thus made to a very great perfection. He, therefore, by this kind of management, greatly exceeded all other people in this sort of courtship, by presents of meat.

Digitized by Google

And how he came likewise to be greatly superior in all other ways of gaining upon men, I will now relate; for he that so much exceeded other men in the multitude of his revenues, exceeded them yet more in the multitude of his presents. Cyrus, therefore, began it; and this custom of making abundance of presents continues, to this day, practised by the kings his successors. Who is there that is known to have richer friends than the Persian king has? who is known to set out the people about him in finer habits than this king does? whose presents are known to be such as some of those which this king makes? as bracelets and collars, and horses with bridles of gold? for it is not allowed there that any one should have these things, but he that the king gives them to. What other man is there that can be said to make himself be preferred before brothers, fathers, or children, by his great presents? What other man has power to chastise his enemies, that are many months' journey distance from him, as the Persian king has? What other man but Cyrus, after having overturned an empire, ever died, and had the title of father given him by the people he subjected? for it is plain that this is the name of one that bestows rather than one that takes away.

We have been likewise informed, that he gained those men, that are called the eyes and the ears of the king, by no other means, than by making them presents, and by bestowing honours and rewards upon them; for, by being very bountiful to those that gave him an account of what was proper for him to be informed of, he set abundance of people upon the search both with ears and eyes, to find what information they should give the king that might be useful to him. Upon this the eyes of the king were reckoned to be very numerous, and his ears so too. But if any one think it proper for a king to choose but one person as his eye, he judges not right; for one man would see but few things,

Digitized by Google

and one man would hear but few things; and, if this were given in charge to one only, it would be as if the rest were ordered to neglect it. Besides, whoever was known to be this eye, people would know that they were to be upon their guard against him. This then is not the course that is taken; but the king hears every one that says he has heard or seen any thing worthy his attending to. By this means, the ears and eyes of the king are reckoned to be in great number; and people are every where afraid of saying any thing to the king's prejudice, as if he himself heard them; and of doing any thing to his prejudice, as if he himself were present. So that no one durst mention any thing scandalous concerning Cyrus to any body; but every one stood so disposed, as if they were always amidst the eyes and ears of the king, whatever company they were in.

I know not what cause any one can better assign for such disposition in men towards him, than that he thought fit to bestow great benefits in return of little ones. And it is not to be wondered at, that he, who was the richest of all, exceeded others in the greatness of his presents, but that one possessed of the royal dignity should exceed others in the culture and care of his friends, this is a thing more worthy of notice. He is said never to have appeared so much ashamed of being outdone in any thing as in the culture of his friends: and a saying of his is recorded, expressing, "That the business of a good herdsman and of a good king, were very near alike; for a herdsman," he said, "ought to provide for the welfare and happiness of the herd, and make use of them consistently with the happiness of those creatures; and that a king ought, in the same manner, to make men and cities happy, and, in the same manner, to make use of them." It is no wonder, therefore, if this were his sentiment, that he had an ambition to outdo all in the culture of men.

Digitized by Google

And Cyrus is said to have given this noble instance to Crœsus, on a certain time, when Crœsus suggested to him that, by the multitude of presents that he made, he would be a beggar, when it was in his power to lay up at home mighty treasures of gold for the use of one. It is said that Cyrus then asked him thus: "What sums do you think I should now have in possession, if I had been hoarding up gold, as you bid me, ever since I have been in power?" And that Crœsus, in reply, named some mighty sum, and that Cyrus to this said, "Well, Crœsus, do you send, with Hystaspes here, some person that you have most confidence in; and do you, Hystaspes," said he, "go about to my friends, tell them that I am in want of money for a certain affair, (and, in reality, I am in want of it,) and bid them furnish me with as much as they are each of them able to do; and that, writing it down, and signing it, they deliver the letter to Crœsus's officer to bring me." Then writing down what he had said, and signing it, he gave it to Hystaspes, to carry it to his friends, but added in the letter to them all, "That they should receive Hystaspes as his friend." After they had gone round, and that Crœsus's officer brought the letters, Hystaspes said, "O, Cyrus, my king, you must now make use of me as a rich man, for here do I attend you, abounding in presents, that have been made me upon the account of your letter." Cyrus upon this said, "This then is one treasure to me, Crœsus, but look over the others, and reckon up what riches there are there ready for me, in case I want for my own use. Crœsus, upon calculation, is said to have found many times the sum that he told Cyrus he might now have had in his treasury, if he had hoarded. When it appeared to be thus, Cyrus is reported to have said,

"You see, Crœsus, that I have my treasures too, but you bid me hoard them up, to be envied and

Digitized by Google

hated for them: you bid me place hired guards upon them, and in those to put my trust. But I make my friends rich, and reckon them to be treasures to me, and guards both to myself and to all things of value that belong to us, and such as are more to be trusted, than if I set up a guard of hirelings. Besides, there is another thing that I will tell you: what the gods have wrought into the souls of men, and by it have made them all equally indigent, this, Crœsus, I am not able to get the better of; for I am, as others are, insatiably greedy of riches: but I reckon I differ from most others in this; that when they have acquired more than is sufficient for them, some of those treasures they bury under ground, and some they let decay and spoil, and others they give themselves a great deal of trouble about, in telling, in measuring, in weighing, airing, and watching them; and though they have all these things at home, they neither eat more than they are able to bear, for they would burst, nor do they put on more clothes than they can bear, for they would suffocate, but all their superfluous treasures they have only for business and trouble. Whereas, I serve the gods, and am ever desirous of more; and, when I have acquired it, out of what I find to be more than suffices me, I satisfy the wants of my friends; and, by enriching men with it, and by doing them kindnesses, I gain their good-will and their friendship, and obtain security and glory, things that do not corrupt and spoil, and do not distress one by over-abounding; but glory, the more there is of it, the greater and more noble it is, and the lighter to bear, and those that hear it, it often makes the lighter and easier. And that you may be sensible of this, Crœsus," said he, "they that possess the most, and have most in their custody, I do not reckon the happiest men; for then would guards upon the walls be the happiest of all men, for they have the custody of all that there is in whole cities,

Digitized by Google

but the persons that can acquire the most with justice, and use the most with honour, him do I reckon the happiest man; and this I reckon to be riches."

And as he expressed these things, so he apparently practised them. But, besides all this, having observed that most men, if they enjoy health, take care to provide themselves with all things fitting, and lay up all things that are of use with respect to a healthy course of life; but how to be supplied with things that are of service, in case they are sick, of this he observed they were not very careful. He therefore thought proper to be at pains to provide himself with these things. He got together the best physicians about him, by his being willing to be at the expence of it; and whatever instruments, medicines, meats, or drinks, any one told him to be of use, there was nothing of all these that he did not provide himself with, and treasure up. And when any of those, whom it was proper for him to take care of, fell ill, he went himself to see them, and furnished them with whatever they wanted; and was thankful to the physicians whenever they cured any one, and took the things which they used from out of what he had in store. These and many such things did he contrive, in order to gain the principal place in the affections of those by whom he desired to be beloved.

Then all those affairs, wherein he appointed games, and established prizes, with intention to raise an emulation in men, to perform great and noble things; those gained Cyrus the applause of taking care that virtue should be kept in practice. But these very games created strife and emulation amongst the better sort of men. And, besides, Cyrus established as a law, that whatever required a determination, whether it were a matter of right, or a dispute relating to games, the parties requiring such determination should have joint recourse to

Digitized by Google

certain judges. It is plain, therefore, that both the parties at variance aimed at pitching upon such judges as were the best and the most their friends; and he that lost his cause envied him that carried it, and hated those that did not give the cause for himself: he that carried his cause attributed the success to the justice of it, so reckoned he owed nobody thanks. They that aimed at being chief in the friendship and esteem of Cyrus, like others in certain cities, bore envy to each other, so that most of them rather wished each other out of the way, than ever acted in concert together for their mutual advantage. These things make it evident by what means he made all the considerable men more affectionate to himself than they were to one another.

But now we will relate how Cyrus, for the first time, marched in procession out of the palace; for the majesty of this procession seems to me to have been one of those arts that made his government not liable to contempt. First, therefore, before he made this procession, he called in to him all those, both Persians and others, that were possessed of commands, and distributed to them Median robes: (and it was then that the Persians first put on the Median robe.) Having distributed these, he told them, that he intended to march in procession to those portions of ground that had been chosen and set apart for the gods, and to make a sacrifice, accompanied with them. "Attend, therefore," said he, "at the gates, before the rising of the sun, adorned with these robes, and form yourselves as Pheraulas the Persian shall give you orders from me. And, when I lead the way, do you follow on in the station assigned you. But, if any of you think that our procession will be handsomer in any other manner, than as we march at this time, when we return again, let him inform me; for every thing ought to be so disposed, as shall appear to you to be most beautiful and noble." When he had

Digitized by Google

distributed the finest robes to the greatest men, he then produced other robes of the Median sort; for he had provided them in great numbers, and was not sparing either in the purple habits, or those of a dark colour, or in the scarlet, or the murry. And having distributed a certain portion of these to each of the commanders, he bid them adorn and set out their friends with them, "as I," said he, "adorn you." And one of those that were present, then asked him, "But when will you, Cyrus," said he, "be adorned yourself?" To this he replied, "And do not you think," said he, "that I am already adorned in adorning all you? No matter," said he, "if I am but able to serve my friends, whatever robe I wear, I shall appear fine in it." So these men, going their ways, and sending for their friends, adorned them with these robes.

Cyrus, taking Pheraulus, one of the inferior degree of people, to be a man of good understanding, a lover of what was beautiful and orderly, and careful to please him; the same that heretofore spoke for every one's being rewarded according to his desert: and calling this man to him, he advised with him how he might make this procession in a manner that might appear the most beautiful to his friends, and most terrible to those that were disaffected. And when, upon joint consideration, they both agreed in the same things, he ordered Pheraulus to take care that the procession should be made, the next morning, in the manner that they had thought proper. "I have ordered," said he, "all to obey you in the disposition and order of this procession. And that they may attend to your orders with the more satisfaction, take these coats," said he, "and carry them to the commanders of the guards; give these habits for horsemen to the commanders of the horse; and these other coats to the commanders of the chariots." Upon this he took them and carried them off. When the com-

Digitized by Google

manding officers saw him, they said to him, "You are a great man, Pheraulus, now that you are to order us what we are to do." "No, not only so, by Jove," said Pheraulus, "but, it seems, I am to be a baggage-bearer too: therefore I now bring you these two habits, one of them is for yourself, the other for somebody else; but do you take which of them you please." He that received the habit, upon this forgot his envy, and presently advised with him which he should take: then giving his opinion which was the best, he said, "If ever you charge me with having given you the choice when I officiate, another time you shall have me officiate for you in a different manner." Pheraulus, having made this distribution thus, as he was ordered, immediately applied himself to the affairs of the procession, that every thing might be settled in the handsomest manner. When the next day came, all things were in order before day.

There were ranks of people standing on each side of the way, as they yet stand at this day, wherever the king is to march; and within these ranks, none but men of great dignity are allowed to come. There were men posted with scourges in their hands, who scourged any that made disturbance. There stood first before the gates four thousand of the guards drawn up, four in front: two thousand on each side of the gates. All the horsemen that were there attending, alighted from their horses, and with their hands passed through their robes, as they still pass them at this day when the king takes a view of them. The Persians stood on the right hand, and the other allies on the left hand of the way. The chariots, in the same manner, stood half of them on each side. When the gates of the palace were thrown open, first there were led certain bulls, very beautiful beasts, four abreast, devoted to Jove, and to such other of the gods as the mages directed. For the Persians are of opinion, that art-

Digitized by Google

ists ought to be made use of in divine affairs much more than in others. Next to the bulls, there were horses led for a sacrifice to the Sun. After these proceeded a white chariot, with its perch of gold, adorned with a crown, or wreath, around it, and sacred to Jove. After this a white chariot, sacred to the Sun, and adorned with a crown, as that before. After this proceeded a third chariot, with its horses adorned with scarlet coverings; and behind it followed men that bore fire upon a large altar. After these Cyrus himself appeared, without the gates, with a turban on, that was raised high above his head, with a vest of a purple colour, half mixed with white, (and this mixture of white none else is allowed to wear:) about his legs he had a sort of stockings of a yellow colour, a robe wholly purple, and about his turban a diadem or wreath. (His relations had likewise this mark of distinction, and they have it still to this day.) And his hands he kept out of their coverings. By him rode his driver, a tall man, but less than himself; whether it really was so, or whether by some means or other, it so fell out, Cyrus appeared much the taller. All the people, at the sight of him, paid their adoration, either because some people were before appointed to begin it, or because they were struck with the pomp and solemnity, and thought that Cyrus appeared exceedingly tall and beautiful; but no Persian ever paid Cyrus adoration before. When the chariot of Cyrus advanced, four thousand of the guards led the way before, two thousand of them attended on each side of it. And the staff-officers about his person, being on horseback, finely clothed, with javelins in their hands, to the number of about three hundred, followed after. Then were led the horses that were maintained for Cyrus himself, with their bridles of gold; and thrown over with coverings wrought with a raised work in stripes, and these were about two hundred. After these marched two

Digitized by Google

thousand spear-men. After these the first-formed body of horse, ten thousand in number, ranged a hundred every way by Chrysantas. After these another body of ten thousand Persian horse, ranged in the same manner, led by Hystaspes. After these another body of ten thousand, in the same manner, led by Datarnas. After these, another led by Gadatas. After these marched the Median horse; after these the Armenian horse; then the Hyrcanian; then the Caducian; then the Sacian. And after the horse went the chariots, ranged four abreast, and led by the Persian Artabates.

As he marched along, abundance of people, without the ranks, followed by the side, petitioning Cyrus, one about one affair, and another about another. Sending, therefore, to them some of the staff-officers, who attended his chariot, three on each side, for this very purpose of delivering messages, he bid them tell them, "That if any of them wanted him upon any business, they should acquaint some of the chief officers under him with what they wanted, and they," he said, "would tell him." These people, going their ways, immediately went to the horsemen, and consulted who they should each of them apply to. But those of his friends, that Cyrus had a mind to have the greatest court and application made to, these he sent somebody to, and called them severally to him, and spoke to them in this manner: "If any of these men that follow by my side acquaint you with any thing, do not give attention to any one that you think says nothing to the purpose; but whoever desires what is just, give me an account of it, that we may consult together, and effect their business for them." Others, when they were called upon, riding up with the utmost dispatch, obeyed, contributing to the support of Cyrus's empire, and showing their own readiness to obey. But there was one Daipharnes, a man of absurd and uncouth manners, who thought that, by

Digitized by Google

not paying obedience with such dispatch, he should appear a man of more dignity and freedom. As soon, therefore, as Cyrus perceived this before the man came up so near as that he might speak to him, he sent one of his staff-officers, and bid him tell him, that he had now no longer any need of him, and he never sent for him afterwards. But there was one who was sent to later, who rode up to him sooner than he; and to this man Cyrus gave one of the horses that followed in his train, and ordered one of the staff-officers to conduct the horse for him wherever he should order. This appeared, to those that saw it, to be a very great honour; and after this many more people made their court to this man.

When they came to the sacred inclosures, they sacrificed to Jove, and burnt the bulls entirely. Then they sacrificed to the Sun, and burnt the horses entirely; then killing certain victims to the Earth, they did as the mages directed. Then they sacrificed to the Heroes, guardians of Syria.

After this, the country thereabouts being very fine, he appointed a certain limited piece of ground, of about five stades, and bid them, nation by nation, put their horses to their speed. He himself rode the race with the Persians, and gained the victory, for he was extremely well practised in horsemanship. Amongst the Medes, Artabates got the victory, for Cyrus had given him a horse. Amongst the Syrians, their chief got the victory. Amongst the Armenians, Tygranes. Amongst the Hyrcanians, the son of the commander of their horse. And amongst the Sacians, a private man, with his horse, left the other behind by almost half the course.

And, upon this occasion, Cyrus is said to have asked the young man, if he would accept of a kingdom in exchange for his horse? and the young man is said to have replied thus: "A kingdom I would not accept for him, but I would consent to oblige a

Digitized by Google

worthy man with him." Then Cyrus said, "Come, I will show you where you may throw blindfold, and not miss a worthy man." "By all means then," said the Sacian, taking up a clod, "show me where I may throw with this clod." Then Cyrus showed him a place where a great many of his friends were, and the man, shutting his eyes, threw his clod, and hit Pheraulus as he was riding by; for Pheraulus happened to be carrying some orders from Cyrus, and, when he was struck, he did not turn aside, but went on upon the business that was ordered him. The Sacian then looking up, asked, "Whom he had hit?" "None, by Jove," said he, "of those that are present." "But sure," said the young man, "it was none of those that are absent." "Yes, by Jove," said Cyrus, "you hit that man that rides hastily on there by the chariots." "And how came he not to turn back?" said he. Then Cyrus said, "Why, in probability, it is some madman." The young man, hearing this, went to see who it was, and found Pheraulus with his chin all over dirt and blood, for the blood gushed from his nose upon the stroke that he received. When he came up with him, he asked him, "Whether he had received a blow?" He answered, "Yes, as you see." "Then," said he, "I make you a present of this horse." He then asked, "For what?" and upon this the Sacian gave him a relation of the things; and, in conclusion, said, "And I believe I have not missed of a worthy man." Pheraulas then said, "But if you had been wise, you had given it to a richer man than I; but I now accept it, and beseech the gods, who have made me the receiver of this blow from you, to grant that I may behave so as to make you not repent your present to me. Now," said he, "do you mount my horse, and ride off upon him, and I will be with you presently." Thus they parted.

Amongst the Caducians, Rathonices gained the

Digitized by Google

victory. He likewise put their chariots severally to the trial of their speed; and to the victors he gave oxen, that they might sacrifice and feast, and he gave them cups. He himself took the ox that was his prize, but his share of the cups he gave to Pheraulas, because he thought that he had directed the procession from the palace in a very handsome manner.

This method of procession, then settled by Cyrus, continues still in use with the king this day, excepting only, that the victims make no part of it when he does not sacrifice. When all was at an end, they returned again to the city, and they that had houses given them, quartered in their houses, and they that had not, in their ranks.

But Pheraulas, inviting the Sacian that presented him with the horse, gave him an entertainment; he furnished him with all other things in abundance. And after they had supped, he filled him the cups, that he had received from Cyrus, drank to him, and made him a present of them. But the Sacian observing a great many fine carpets and coverlets, a great deal of fine furniture, and abundance of domestics, "Tell me," said he, "Pheraulas, were you one of the rich when you were at home?" "How rich do you mean?" said Pheraulas, "I was one of those that lived directly by the work of their own hands; for my father, maintaining himself very poorly by his own labour, bred me up under the discipline of the boys; but, when I became a youth, not being able to maintain me idle, he took me into the country, and ordered me to work. Here did I maintain him whilst he lived, digging and planting, with my own hands, a little piece of land, that was not an ungrateful one, but the justest in the world; for the seed that it received it returned me justly and handsomely again, with an overplus that indeed was not very abundant; but sometimes, out of its generosity, returned me double of what it received.

Digitized by Google

Thus then I lived at home: but now, all these things that you see, Cyrus has given me." Then the Sacian said, "O, happy are you in other respects, as well as in this; that, from being poor before, you are now become rich! For I am of opinion, that you grow rich with the more pleasure, as you come to be possessed of riches, after having thirsted for them before." Pheraulas then said, "And do you think, Sacian, that I live with the more pleasure the more I possess? Do not you know," said he, "that I neither eat, nor drink, nor sleep with one jot more pleasure now than when I was poor? But, by all this abundance, thus much I gain: that I am to guard more, to distribute more to others, and to have the trouble of taking care of more: for a great many domestics now demand their food of me, their drink, and their clothes; some are in want of physicians; one comes and brings me sheep, that have been torn to pieces by wolves, or oxen killed by falling from a precipice, or tells me of a distemper got amongst the cattle: so that I think," said Pheralaus, "by possessing abundance, I have now more afflictions than I had before by having but little." "But, by Jove," said the Sacian, "when all is well, and you are able to cast your eyes around upon numerous possessions, you are certainly much better pleased than I am." Pheraulas then said, "Sacian, it is not so pleasant to possess riches, as it is afflicting to lose them; and you will find that what I say is true; for there are none of those that possess riches, that are forced from the enjoyment of rest, by the pleasure which they afford; but of those that lose them, you will see none that are able to sleep, because of the concern it gives them." "By Jove," said the Sacian, "nor will you see any of those fall asleep, that at first obtain them, because of the pleasure it gives them." "You say true," said he, "for, if the possessing them was as pleasant as the obtaining them, the rich would very

Digitized by Google

much exceed the poor in happiness. But then, Sacian," said he, "he that possesses abundance must, of necessity, expend abundance, both upon the gods, upon his friends, and upon strangers. Whoever, therefore, is greatly pleased with the possession of riches, be assured will be greatly afflicted at the expence of them." "By Jove," said the Sacian, "I am not one of those, but I take it to be a happiness for a man to have abundance, and to expend abundance." "Why then," said Pheraulas, "in the name of all the gods, are not you, this instant, that happy man, to make me so at the same time? For do you take possession of all these things, and use them as you please; maintain me only as a stranger? or yet more sparingly than a stranger; for it shall be enough for me to share with you in what you have." "You jest," said the Sacian. Pheraulas then asserted, with an oath, that he spoke in earnest. "And I'll gain you, Sacian, something farther from Cyrus; and that is, that you shall not be obliged to attend at his doors, nor to engage in military service, but you shall stay at home, abounding in riches. And those other affairs I will perform for you and for myself; and, if I get any thing valuable by my attendance upon Cyrus, or by any military expedition, I will bring it to you, that you may still have the command of more; do you," said he, "but free me from this care: for, if I can be at leisure from these affairs, I think that you will be of very great use both to me and to Cyrus."

Having thus discoursed, they settled these affairs, and put them in practice. The one thought himself made a happy man, by having the command of great riches, and the other reckoned himself the most fortunate man in the world, in having a steward, who afforded him leisure to do what was agreeable to him. Pheraulas was, in his temper, extremely kind and friendly to his acquaintance; and no care or culture bestowed upon any thing, appeared

Digitized by Google

so pleasing to him, or so profitable, as that bestowed upon men; for man, he thought, was, of all other creatures, the best and the most grateful; because he observed of men, that, when they were commended by any one, they were zealous in their returns of praise; that they used their endeavours to do kindnesses to those that had done kindnesses to them; that they were kindly affected to those whom they know to be kindly affected to them; and those who they knew had a love for them, they could not possibly hate; and that, of all other creatures, they were the most inclined to make their parents all returns of respect and service, both while living and when dead. And all other animals he reckoned more ungrateful and more ill-natured than man. This Pheraulas was much delighted, that, by being freed from the care of other possessions, he should be at leisure to mind his friends. And the Sacian was delighted, because he was to have the possession of abundance, and was to spend abundance. The Sacian loved Pheraulas, because he was always bringing him something; and Pheraulas loved the Sacian, because he was willing to take all; and though he charged himself with the care of still more and more, yet he gave him never the more trouble. Thus did these men live.

Cyrus having sacrificed, and making an entertainment with the prize of his victory, invited those of his friends, that appeared the most desirous to increase his power, and that paid him honour in the most affectionate manner; and with them he invited Artabazus the Mede, Tygranes the Armenian, the Hyrcanian commander of horse, and Gobrias. Gadatas was the commander of his eunuchs; and all the management within doors was settled as he thought fit to regulate it. When there were any that supped with him, Gadatas did not sit down, but minded the business; but when there was no company, he then supped with him; for he was

Digitized by Google

pleased with his conversation; and, in return, he was presented with many great and noble things, both by Cyrus himself, and by many others upon Cyrus's account.

As the persons that were invited to supper came, he did not place every one as it happened by chance to fall out, but the man that he most esteemed, he placed upon his left hand, as if this side were more exposed to dangerous designs than the right. The next in his esteem he placed upon his right hand; the third again upon his left, and the fourth upon his right; and, if there were more, he went on with them in the same manner. He thought it of service to make it evident how far he esteemed every one; because, where men think, that he who excels others, is not to have his praises published, nor to receive his rewards; there, it is plain, they have no emulation to each other: but where he that excels has the advantage, there they appear to struggle with the utmost zeal. Thus Cyrus made those known that were chief in his esteem; beginning first with their place, as they sat, and as they stood by him. Yet this privilege of place, in sitting, he did not make perpetual, but made it a rule, that a man might advance, by noble actions, to the more honourable seat; and, if he grew negligent and remiss, might sink down to the less honourable. And if he that was possessed of the principal seat, did not appear to have received the greatest number of valuable things at his hands, he was ashamed. And these things, that were practised in the time of Cyrus, I perceive continue still thus to this day.

When they had supped, it did not appear at all wonderful to Gobrias, that a man, who had the command of many, should have every thing in great abundance; but that Cyrus, who had performed such great things, if he thought that he had got any thing that was delicate, should never spend it himself alone, but give himself trouble in desiring his

Digitized by Google

friends that were present to share it; this he thought wonderful, and frequently he saw him send to some of his absent friends, things that he happened to be pleased with himself. So that when they had supped, and Cyrus, by presents to several, had cleared his table of all that plenty that was upon it; then Gobrias said, "Before, Cyrus, I thought that you most excelled the rest of men, in being the most able in the command of an army; but now, I swear by the gods, that you excel more in benignity and love to mankind, than in military conduct." "And, by Jove," said Cyrus, "it is much more agreeable to show acts of love to men, than acts of skill in the conduct of an army." "How so?" said Gobrias. "Because these," said he, "must be shown by doing mischief to men, and those by doing them good."

After this, when they had drank a little, Hystaspes put this question to Cyrus: "Would you be offended, Cyrus," said he, "if I should ask you something that I am desirous to know from you?" "By the gods," said he, "quite the contrary; I should be offended, if I perceived that you retained what you had a mind to ask me." "Tell me then," said he, "when you have called me, did I ever refuse to come?" "Pray, be quiet," said Cyrus. "Or did I ever obey your summons slowly?" "No, nor this neither." "Have I ever neglected to do what you have ordered me?" "I don't lay it to your charge," said he. "And, in what I have done, can you accuse me of not having done it with alacrity and pleasure?" "This," said Cyrus, "the least of all." "In the name of all the gods, then, Cyrus," said he, "by what means is it, that Chrysantas has prevailed upon you so as to be placed before me in the more honourable seat?" "Shall I tell you?" said Cyrus. "By all means," said he. "And will not you be offended with me when you hear the truth?" "No, I shall be pleased," said he, "if I

Digitized by Google

find that I am not wronged." "Then," said he, "Chrysantas here, in the first place, never waited my call, but, before he was called, was ready at hand for our service: and then, not only what he was ordered, but whatever he himself thought best for us to be done, that he did. When it was necessary to say any thing to our allies, he advised me what he thought was becoming and proper for me to say: and what he perceived I was desirous that our allies should know, but was ashamed to say of myself, this he spoke, as if he were declaring his own opinion. So that, in these matters, what hinders him from being reckoned of more use to me, even than myself? As to himself, he always says that the things he has are sufficient for him: but it appears evidently, that he is always looking out for what it may be of service for me to have: and, with the advantages that befal me, he is more delighted and pleased than myself." To this Hystaspes said, "By Here, Cyrus, I am pleased that I have asked you these things." "And why?" said he. "Because I will endeavour too to practise them. One thing only there is," said he, "that I do not know; and that is, how to make it evident that I rejoice at your advantages, whether I must clap my hands, or laugh, or what I must do?" Artabazus to this said, "You must dance the Persian dance." And at this they laughed.

As the entertainment went on, Cyrus put this question to Gobrias: "Tell me," said he, "Gobrias, do you think that you should give your daughter to one of these that are here, with more satisfaction now than when at first you became acquainted with us?" "And must I tell the truth then?" said Gobrias. "Yes, by Jove," said Cyrus, "since no question requires falsehood in answer to it." "Be assured then," said he, "that I should do it with much more satisfaction now." "And can you give," said Cyrus, "a reason why?" "I can."

Digitized by Google

"Give it me then." "Because, at that time, I say, these men bear toils and dangers with alacrity; but now I see them bear prosperity with discretion and good temper. And to me, Cyrus, it appears more difficult to find a man that bears prosperity well, than one that bears adversity well; for prosperity inspires most men with pride and insolence, but adversity gives discretion and modesty of temper to all." Then Cyrus said, "Do you hear, Hystaspes, this saying of Gobrias?" "Yes, by Jove," said he, "I do; and, if he pronounce many such, he shall much sooner have me for a suitor to his daughter, than if he showed me abundance of cups of great value." "Truly," said Gobrias, "I have a great many such written down; and I will not grudge them to you, if you have my daughter for a wife: but my cups," said he, "since you seem to dislike them, I don't know but I will give to Chrysantas here, especially since he has run away with your seat."

"Well," said Cyrus, "if you, Hystaspes, and the rest that are here present, will acquaint me when any of you are endeavouring after a wife, you will then know how good an assistant I shall be to you." Gobrias then said, "But if one has a mind to dispose of a daughter, who must one tell it to?" "This," said Cyrus, "must be told to me too; for I am a notable man in this art." "What art?" said Chrysantas. "Why, in knowing what match will best suit each particular man." Then Chrysantas said, "In the name of all the gods, then, tell me what wife, you think, will best suit me." "First," said he, "she must be little; for you are little yourself: and if you marry a tall wife, and would kiss her as she stands, you must leap up like a little dog." "You are much in the right," said he, "to provide against this, for I am, by no means, a good caperer." "And then," said he, "she must have a nose that sinks in the middle."

Digitized by Google

"And what is this for?" "Because," said he, "you have a crooked nose, and a rising hook would best suit a sinking in." "Do you say then, that a fasting wife would best suit one that had feasted plentifully as I have done now?" "Yes, by Jove," said Cyrus, "for the bellies of those that are full rise, and the bellies of those that are fasting sink in." "But, in the name of all the gods," said Chrysantas, "can you tell, what wife will be best for a cold king?" Here Cyrus fell a laughing, and so did the others. And as they were laughing, Hystaspes said, "In the whole compass of your royal dignity, Cyrus, I envy you the most for this." "For what?" said Cyrus. "Why, that, as cold as you are, you can make people laugh." "And would not you give a great deal," said Cyrus, "then, that these things had been said by you, and that she, that you desire should think well of you, should be informed that you are a polite agreeable man?" Thus they jested one with another.

After this he produced a woman's attire for Tygranes, and bid him give it his wife, because she bravely attended her husband in the service. To Artabazus he gave a golden cup; to the Hyrcanian, a horse. And many other noble presents he made. "But, Gobrias," said he, "I'll give you a husband for your daughter." "And shall not I," said Hystaspes, "be the man that you will give, that I may get those writings?" "Have you substance enough," said Cyrus, "to deserve the girl?" "Yes, by Jove, I have much more than enough." "And where," said he, "is this substance of yours?" "Here," said he, "where you, my friend, sit." "That's enough for me," said Gobrias; and holding out his right hand, "Give him me, Cyrus," said he, "for I accept him." Then Cyrus, taking Hystaspes's right hand, presented it to Gobrias, and he received it. After this, he made a great many noble presents to Hystaspes, that he might

Digitized by Google

send them to the maid. And pulling Chrysantas to him, he kissed him. Upon this Artabazus said, "By Jove, Cyrus, you have not given me my cup of the same gold with this present that you have made Chrysantas." "But I will give you the same," said he. He asked him, "When?" "Thirty years hence," said he. "Well, prepare yourself for me," said he, "as one that intends to wait, and not to die before the time." Thus then ended this conversation: and, when they rose, Cyrus rose with them, and conducted them to his doors.

The next day, all those of his allies, that had voluntarily attended him, he dismissed to their homes, excepting such as chose to live near him. To these he gave lands and houses, which the descendants of those who then staid, possess still to this day: and they were, for the most part, Medes and Hyrcanians. To those that went off, he gave many presents, and dismissed them, both commanders and soldiers, without leaving them the least cause to complain. After this, he divided the treasure, that he gained at Sardes, among the soldiers that were about him. And to the commanders of ten thousand, and to the officers that were about him, he gave the choice things, according to the merit of every one. The rest he parcelled out, and giving a share to each of the commanders of ten thousand, he left it to them to distribute it in the same manner as he had distributed to them. And these other treasures each commander distributed to the commanders under him, giving judgment upon the merit of every one. And the commanders of six, giving judgment upon the private men that were under them, distributed the last remaining treasures severally to them, according to their desert. So they all received their just share.

When they had received what was then given them, some of them spoke of Cyrus in this manner: "Surely he must have abundance, when he gives so

Digitized by Google

much to every one of us." But others of them said, "What is the abundance that he has? Cyrus is not of a temper to mind wholly the heaping up of treasure; but he is more pleased with bestowing than with having it." Cyrus, perceiving these discourses, and the opinions that men had of him, assembled his friends, and all the other proper persons together, and spoke to this effect: "My friends, I have seen men that were willing to be thought possessed of more than they really had, and who thought, by that means, to appear the more generous and noble. But these men, in my opinion, are drawn into the very reverse of what they intend: for he that seems to have abundance, and does not appear to do that service to his friends that is suitable to his substance, gains, in my opinion, the character of being mean and sordid. There are those," said he, "on the other side, who desire that what they have may be concealed. And these too, in my opinion, are faulty to their friends: for frequently friends that are in want, avoid telling it to their companions, because they are ignorant of what they have, and so are deceived.. But the plainest, simplest part, in my opinion, is to make the whole strength of one's fortune appear, and with it to try to get the better of others in generosity. I intend, therefore," said he, "to show you every thing that is possible for you to see of what I have; and, of what you cannot see, to give you an account." Having said this, he showed them abundancc of rich and valuable things; and those that lay so as not easily to be seen, he gave them an account of; and, in conclusion, said thus: "All these things, my friends," said he, "you ought to reckon not more mine than yours; for I have collected them in together, not that I may spend them myself, nor that I may myself wear them out, for I should not be able to do it; but that I may always have wherewithal to present any of you, upon your performance of any thing great

Digitized by Google

and noble; and that, in case any of you think you are in want of any thing, you may come to me and take what you happen to be in want of." Thus were these things said.

But when he thought that affairs were now so well settled in Babylon, that he might venture to travel abroad, he himself prepared for a journey into Persia, and gave out orders upon it to others. And, when he judged that he was sufficiently provided with the things he thought he should want, he departed. Now we will give an account, how so great an equipage was, in the most orderly manner, set out, and then again put up together, in the same manner, and disposed into the place where it ought to be: for, wherever the king encamps, they that are about his person attend the service with tents, both winter and summer.

Cyrus then immediately thought fit to place his own tent fronting to the east. Then he first directed, at what distance from the royal tent the guards should pitch theirs; he then appointed the bakers, and those that were concerned in making the bread, their station upon the right; the cooks, theirs upon the left. To the horses he appointed their station upon the right, and to the other beasts of burden, theirs upon the left. And all the rest was so disposed, that every one knew his own station, both as to measure and place. When they are to put all up, every one packs up such baggage as it was appointed him to use, and there are others that place it upon the beasts of burden; so that all the baggage-carriers come up, at the same time, to the things that are severally appointed them to carry; and they all, at the same time, place them upon the beasts that severally belong to them. So that the same time that suffices for the striking of one tent, suffices for all. The case is the same in the displaying and setting out of all. And, with respect to the doing all things that are necessary, in proper time,

Digitized by Google

every one is, in the same manner, appointed what he is to do; and, by this means, the same time suffices for the doing things in one part and in all. And as the servants that dispatched all the necessary business had all severally their proper stations, so they that bore arms, had their stations in their encampment suitable to the sort of arms they severally had; they knew what their station was, and all disposed themselves into it without any hesitation. For Cyrus thought the proper placing of things a noble rule in a house; because, if one happen to want any thing, it is known whither one must go to take it. But the proper placing of the several different sorts of military men, he reckoned a much nobler thing, as the occasions of putting all to their use, in the affairs of war, are more sudden, and the faults arising from those that are dilatory in them, are of worse consequence; and the most valuable advantages in war, he observed, arose from having all things ready for the occasion. Upon these accounts, therefore, he took the greatest care of this propriety of place.

First then, he placed himself in the midst of the camp, as being the strongest and securest station. Then those whom he chiefly confided in, he had, according to custom, about himself. Next to these, in a circle round, he had the horsemen and charioteers; for he was of opinion, that a secure station was necessary for these people, because they encamp without having at hand any of those arms that they engage with, and require a considerable time to arm themselves, if they are to advance so as to do any service. To the right and left of himself, and of the horsemen, was the station of the shieldmen. The station of the archers was before and behind himself and the horsemen. The heavy-armed men, and such as had large shields, he had in a circle round all, as a rampart, that, in case there was any occasion for the horsemen to make ready,

Digitized by Google

they that were the fittest to make a stand, being placed before them, might give them time to arm securely. And as the heavy-armed men slept there, in order, round him, so did the shield-men and archers. So that, even in the night-time, if the occasion required, as heavy-armed men were ready prepared to come to blows with such as came up close with them; so the archers and javelin-men, if any people approached them, were ready to discharge their javelins and arrows over the heads of the heavy-armed. And all the commanders had ensigns on their tents. And as, in cities, discreet and good servants know the habitations of most people, but chiefly of those that it is proper for them to know; so did the servants of Cyrus know the stations that the chief leaders had in the encampments, and knew the ensigns that belonged to each of them; so that whatever Cyrus might want, they were not to seek for them, but ran the shortest way directly to each of them. And by means of the several sets of people being distinct, it was much the more readily observed, when any one was disorderly, and when any one did not perform what he was commanded. And things standing thus, he was of opinion, that if any body attacked him, either by night or day, such aggressor would fall into his camp, as into an ambuscade.

And he did not only think it a part of the tactic-art, for a man to be able to draw up a phalanx easily and cleverly, or to increase it in depth, or to form a phalanx upon the wing, or upon the enemy's appearing to the right, the left, or the rear, to wheel properly, but to separate men, when it was proper, he took to be a part of this art; to post each part where they might be most serviceable, and to make dispatch where it might be fit to prevent the enemy. All these things, and such like, he took to be the business of a man skilled in tactics. He took care of all these things alike; and, in his marches, he

Digitized by Google

moved always in a disposition suitable to what occurred; but, in his encampments he placed his people, for the most part, as has been said.

When, in the course of their march, they arrived in the Median territory, Cyrus turned off to visit Cyaxares. And after they had embraced each other, Cyrus first told Cyaxares, that there were domestics and palaces set apart for him in Babylon; that when he came thither, he might have what was his own to come to. And he then made him a great many other noble presents. Cyaxares received them, and sent his daughter to him, with a crown of gold, and with bracelets, with a collar, and a Median robe that was as fine as was possible; and the maid put the crown upon Cyrus's head. Cyaxares then said, "I give you the maid too, Cyrus, for your wife. She is my own daughter. Your father married my father's daughter, and from her you are descended. This is she that, when you were a boy, and amongst us, you used to fondle; and when any one asked her, 'Who she would marry?' she said, 'Cyrus.' And, with her, I give all Media as her dowery, for I have no legitimate male issue." Thus he spoke, and Cyrus replied, "O Cyaxares, I applaud the race, the maid, and the presents that attend her: and, with the consent," said he, "of my father and mother, I am ready to agree with you." Thus Cyrus spoke, but yet he presented the maid with all that he thought would be pleasing to Cyaxares; and, having done this, he continued his march to Persia.

And when, in the course of his march, he arrived at the borders of Persia, there he left the rest of the army; but he himself, together with his friends, proceeded on to the city, carrying with him such numbers of victims as were sufficient for all the Persians to sacrifice and feast upon. He brought with him such presents as were proper for his father and mother, and his other friends; and such as

Digitized by Google

were proper for the elders and magistrates, and for all the alike-honoured. He gave likewise to all the Persians, both men and women, such presents as the king still makes at this day, when he comes into Persia. After this Cambyses assembled the Persian elders and magistrates, who had the direction of the greatest affairs; he summoned likewise Cyrus, and spoke to this effect:

"Men of Persia, and you, O Cyrus, I have justly an affection for you both; for over you I am king, and you, Cyrus, are my son. It is just, therefore, that I should lay before you, whatever I judge to be of advantage to you both. With respect to the time past, you have advanced Cyrus in his fortune, by granting an army, and by constituting him the commander of it. Cyrus, in the conduct of his army, has, with the help of the gods, gained you, O Persians, glory amongst all men, and honour throughout all Asia. Of those that served with him, the better sort he has enriched, and the multitude he has provided with their pay and with their maintenance: and, by constituting a Persian cavalry, he has given the Persians a share in the command of the plains. If you continue, therefore, for the future, in the same sentiments, you will be the authors of many advantages to each other. But if either you, Cyrus, elevated with your present happy circumstances, attempt to rule the Persians as you do the others, with regard only to your own interest; or if you, citizens, envying him his power, endeavour to wrest the empire from him, be assured that you will hinder each other from obtaining many advantages. Therefore, that things may not fall out thus, but rather happily for you, my opinion is," said he, "that we make a sacrifice in common; and, calling the gods to witness, stipulate, that you, Cyrus, in case any one make war upon the Persian territory, or attempt to destroy the Persian laws, shall assist, in their defence, with your

Digitized by Google

whole force; and that you, Persians, in case any one attempt to put an end to Cyrus's empire, or to excite any of his subjects to revolt, shall yield such assistance, in defence of yourselves and of Cyrus, as he shall order. Whilst I live, the royal dignity amongst the Persians is mine; when I am dead, it then plainly belongs to Cyrus, if he lives. And when he comes into Persia, it may be, perhaps, of religious concern to you, that he should make these sacrifices for you that I now make. But, when he is abroad, I think it will be proper, that that person, of our race, that appears to you to be the most worthy, should perform the sacred rites."

Upon Cambyses's saying this, Cyrus and the Persian magistrates joined in opinion with him. And having, at that time, agreed upon these things (calling upon the gods as witnesses) the Persians and the king continue still, to this day, to put them in practice one towards another.

When these things were performed, Cyrus went away; and when he came into Media, in his journey back, upon its being agreed to by his father and mother, he married the daughter of Cyaxares, who, at this day, has still the fame of having been extremely beautiful. There are some authors who say that he married his mother's sister; but she must have been a woman in years, much more probably than one so young. When he had married her, he presently departed, and took her with him.

When he was at Babylon, he thought it now proper for him to constitute governors, or satraps, over the conquered nations. But the commanders of the garrisons in castles, and the commanders of thousands, that were appointed for the guard of the country, he would not allow to obey the orders of any but himself. He used this foresight, upon consideration, that, if any of the satraps, by means of their riches and the numbers of their people, should grow insolent, and attempt to withdraw their obe-

Digitized by Google

dience from him, they might immediately meet with opposers upon the place. Desiring, therefore, to bring this about, he determined first to call together all the proper persons, and to declare it to them, that they who went upon these employments might know upon what foot they went; for, by this means, he thought they would the more easily bear it. But if any one were first constituted a commander, and then made the discovery, he was of opinion, that men would bear this with difficulty, imagining that it was done out of distrust of them.

So, assembling them together, he spoke to this effect, "My friends, in the cities that have been conquered, there are garrisons, and commanders over them, that I left there at the time; and, when I went away, I gave them orders not to take upon themselves any other business than to preserve the fortresses: therefore I will not deprive these men of their power, since they have discharged themselves handsomely in the guarding of what they had in charge. But I think it proper for me to send other governors, who shall take upon them the rule of the inhabitants; and who, receiving the revenues, shall give the garrisons their pay, and discharge whatever else is necessary. And to those of you here that I shall give employment, and send to perform any business in the several nations, I think it proper to distribute lands and houses there, that the tribute may be there paid them, and that they may bring it to this place, and when they go thither, that they may have what is their own to go to." Thus he said. And to many of his friends he gave houses and dependents throughout all the conquered cities. And these precincts remain still at this day in the possession of the descendants of those who then received them, some in one country, and some in another, and they themselves reside with the king. "And we ought," said he, "to look out for such satraps, to go into these precincts, as will

Digitized by Google

remember to send hither whatever there is that is excellent and valuable in every country, that we, who are here, may share of all that is excellent in every part; for, if any misfortune befal them, it will lie upon us to defend them from it."

Having said this, he ended his discourse. And then from amongst his friends, that he knew were desirous to go upon the terms expressed, choosing out such as he thought the most proper, he sent them as satraps. To Arabia, he sent Magabyzus; to Cappadocia, Artabatas; to the Greater Phrygia, Artacamas; to Lydia and Ionia, Chrysantas; to Caria, Cadusius, as that people themselves had desired; to Phrygia on the Hellespont and Æolia, Pharnuchus. To Cilicia, to Cyprus, and to the Paphlagonians, he sent no Persian satraps, because they seemed to have joined of their own accord with him in his expedition against Babylon. But he appointed these likewise a tribute that they were to pay, according to Cyrus's establishment at that time; so that there are still, at this day, garrisons belonging to the king in the fortresses, and commanders of thousands appointed by the king to command those forces, and set down in a list belonging to the king.

The satraps that were thus sent out, he, beforehand, directed to imitate, as near as was possible, whatever they saw him practise. And, in the first place, that each satrap, out of such of the Persians, and of the confederates as attended him, should establish a number of horsemen and charioteers; and then should oblige such as had lands and palaces to pay their attendance at his doors, and, practising discreet and modest manners, to yield themselves to the service of the satrap, if any occasion should so require. And that he should discipline at his doors the boys that these men had, as was practised by himself. And that the satrap should take those that attended at his doors out

Digitized by Google

with him to hunt, and exercise himself and those about him in military affairs. "And the man," said he, "that, in proportion to his ability, produces me the most chariots, and the most and the best horsemen, him will I reward, as an excellent fellow soldier, and as an excellent fellow guardian and preserver of the empire to the Persians and myself. Let the best men with you be honoured with the principal seats, as they are with me; and let your table, as mine does, maintain, in the first place, your domestics, and then let it be sufficiently furnished to afford your friends to partake of it, and allow you every day to reward any one that may have done a handsome action. Get yourselves parks, and maintain wild beasts. And neither set meat, at any time, before yourselves, without having taken pains, nor throw food to your horses unexercised. For it is impossible for me, who am but one, with all the virtue that belongs to human nature, to preserve all you in safety and prosperity; but it is my part, making myself a worthy man, together with other worthy men about me, to be an assistant to you. And it is, in like manner, your part, making yourselves worthy men, together with other men of worth about you, to be friends and supports to me. And I desire, likewise, that you would observe, that of all these orders that I now give you, I give none to those that are of servile condition: and that the things which I say you ought to do, these I endeavour myself to practise. And, as I exhort you to imitate me, so do you instruct those that are in command under you to imitate you."

Cyrus having thus regulated these affairs at that time, all the garrisons under the king are still, at this day, kept likewise in the same method. The doors of all the commanders are frequented in the like manner. All families, both great and little, are in the like manner regulated. The most deserving

Digitized by Google

men, in all companies, are honoured with the principal seats. All marches are ordered in the same method: and the great multitude of affairs is parcelled out into distinct heads, under a few principal directors.

Having told them in what manner they were each of them to manage in these affairs, and having given to each of them a force, he sent them away, and told them all before-hand, that, in the following year, an expedition would be undertaken, and a review taken both of men and arms, horses and chariots.

There is another thing that we have observed, which, they say, was begun by Cyrus, and continues to this day: that there is a certain person, who, at the head of an army, takes a progress every year; and who, in case any of the satraps want assistance, affords it them, and, if any of them grow insolent, reduces them to temper. And if any neglect the payment of his tribute, or the protection of the inhabitants, or the care of having the land cultivated, or leaves any other of his orders unexecuted, he puts all these things to rights: or if he is not able to do it himself, he makes a report to the king; and when the king has had an account of it, he takes advice how to deal with the transgressing person. And commonly they who take this progress, are the king's son or the king's brother, or one of those they call the king's eye. And sometimes they do not appear, for they each of them return upon the first orders from the king.

We have likewise been informed of another contrivance of his, with regard to the extent of his empire, by means of which he had immediate intelligence of what passed in the most remote parts of his government: for, observing how far a horse was able to travel in a day, he built stables at that distance, and supplied them with horses, and persons to have the care of them. And he appointed a cer-

Digitized by Google

tain person, at each of these stages, to receive the letters and to deliver them out, and to receive those horses that had completed their stage, and to furnish fresh ones. And it is said, that the night did not give any interruption to these stages; for as soon as he arrived, who had been his progress all day, another continued it during the night. And in this manner they are said to fly swifter than cranes; but though that be false, yet it is manifest that this is the quickest way of travelling for men. Besides, it is of use to have early intelligence of every thing, that immediate provision may be made.

At the conclusion of the year, Cyrus assembled his army together at Babylon, which is said to have consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, two thousand chariots armed with scythes, and sixty thousand foot. And, having prepared them for it, he undertook that expedition, in which he is reported to have subdued all those nations which lie from the entrance into Syria as far as the Red Sea. His next expedition is said to have been against Egypt, which he also subdued. Then Cyrus's empire was bounded to the east by the Red Sea, to the north by the Euxine Sea, to the west by Cyprus and Egypt, to the south by Ethiopia. The extremities of which countries are difficult to inhabit, some of them from excess of heat, some of them from excess of cold, some from too great abundance of water, others from a scarcity of water.

Cyrus, residing in the centre of these countries, spent the seven winter months at Babylon, because that climate is warm, the three spring months at Susa, and the two summer months at Ecbatan. By which means he is said to have enjoyed a perpetual spring, with respect to heat and cold. And men stood so affected towards him, that every nation thought they did themselves an injury if they did not send Cyrus the most valuable productions of

Digitized by Google

their country, whether they were the fruits of the earth, or creatures bred there, or manufactures of their own: and every city did the same. And every private man thought himself rich, if he could oblige Cyrus; for as Cyrus accepted from each of what they possessed in abundance, so, in return, he distributed to them what he observed they were in want of.

After he had thus spent some considerable time, Cyrus, now in a very advanced age, takes a journey into Persia, which was the seventh from the acquisition of his empire, when his father and mother had probably been for some time dead. Cyrus made the usual sacrifices, and danced the Persian dance, according to the custom of his country, and distributed to every one presents, as usual. Then, being asleep in the royal palace, he had the following dream. There seemed to advance towards him a person, with a more than human majesty in his air and countenance, and to say to him, "Cyrus, prepare yourself, for you are now going to the gods!" After this appearance in his dream, he awaked, and seemed assured that his end drew near. Therefore, taking along with him the victims, he sacrificed, on the summit of a mountain, (as is the custom in Persia) to Jove Paternal, the Sun, and the rest of the gods, accompanying the sacrifices with this prayer:

"O Jove Paternal, Sun, and all ye gods! receive these sacrifices, as the completion of many worthy and handsome actions; and as grateful acknowledgments for having signified to me, both by the victims, by celestial signs, by birds, and by omens, what became me to do, and not to do. And I abundantly return you thanks, that I have been sensible of your care and protection; and that, in the course of my prosperity, I never was exalted above what became a man. I implore you now to

Digitized by Google

bestow all happiness on my children, my wife, my friends, and my country; and for myself, that I may die as I have always lived."

When he had finished his sacrifices and prayer, he returned home, and finding himself disposed to be quiet, he lay down. At a certain hour proper persons attended, and offered him to wash. He told them that he had rested very well. Then, at another hour, proper officers brought him his supper, but Cyrus had no appetite to eat, but seemed thirsty, and drank with pleasure. And continuing thus the second and third days, he sent for his sons, who, as it happened, had attended their father, and were then in Persia. He summoned likewise his friends, and the magistrates of Persia. When they were all met, he began in this manner:

"Children, and all you, my friends, here present, the conclusion of my life is now at hand, which I certainly know from many symptoms. You ought, when I am dead, to act and speak of me, in every thing, as a happy man. For, when I was a child, I seemed to have received advantage from what is esteemed worthy and handsome in children; so likewise, when I was a youth, from what is esteemed so in young men; so, when I came to be a man, from what is esteemed worthy and handsome in men. And I have always seemed to observe myself increase with time in strength and vigour, so that I have not found myself weaker or more infirm in my old age than in my youth. Neither do I know that I have desired or undertaken any thing in which I have not succeeded. By my means, my friends have been made happy, and my enemies enslaved; and my country, at first inconsiderable in Asia, I leave in great reputation and honour. Neither do I know that I have not preserved whatever I acquired. And though, in time past, all things have succeeded according to my wishes, yet an apprehension lest, in process of time, I should see, hear,

Digitized by Google

or suffer some difficulty, has not let me be too much elated, or too extravagantly delighted. Now, if I die, I leave you, children, behind me, (whom the gods have given me,) and I leave my country and my friends happy. Ought not I, therefore, in justice, to be always remembered, and mentioned as fortunate and happy? I must likewise declare to whom I leave my kingdom, lest that, being doubtful, should hereafter raise dissensions among you. Now, children, I bear an equal affection to you both; but I direct, that the elder should have the advising and conducting of affairs, as his age requires it, and, it is probable, he has more experience. And as I have been instructed by my country and yours, to give place to those elder than myself, not only brothers, but fellow citizens, both in walking, sitting, and speaking; so have I instructed you, from your youth, to show a regard to your elders, and to receive the like from such as were inferior to you in age: receive then this disposition as ancient, customary, and legal. Do you, therefore, Cambyses, hold the kingdom, as allotted you by the gods, and by me, so far as it is in my power. To you, Tanoaxares, I bequeath the satrapy of the Medes, Armenians, and Cadusians; which, when I allot you, I think, I leave your elder brother a larger empire, and the title of a kingdom, but to you a happiness freer from care and vexation. For I don't see what human satisfaction you can need; but you will enjoy whatever appears agreeable and pleasing to men. An affection for such things as are difficult to execute, a multitude of pains, and an impossibility of being quiet, anxiety from an emulation of my actions, forming designs yourself, and having designs formed against you; these are things which must more necessarily attend a king, than one in your station; and, be assured, these give many interruptions to pleasure and satisfaction. Know, therefore, Cambyses, that it is not

Digitized by Google

the golden sceptre which can preserve your kingdom, but faithful friends are a prince's truest and securest sceptre. But don't imagine that men are naturally faithful; (for then they would appear so to all, as other natural endowments do) but every one must render others faithful to himself: and they are not to be procured by violence, but rather by kindness and beneficence. If, therefore, you would constitute other joint guardians with you of your kingdom, whom can you better begin with than him who is of the same blood with yourself? and fellow citizens are nearer to us than strangers, and those who live and eat with us, than those that do not. And those who have the same original, who have been nourished by the same mother, and grown up in the same house, and beloved by the same parents, and who call upon the same father and mother, are not they, of all others, the nearest to us? Don't you, therefore, render those advantages fruitless, by which the gods unite brothers in affinity and relation; but, to those advantages, add other friendly offices, and, by that means, your friendship will be reciprocally solid and lasting. The taking care of a brother is providing for one's self. To whom can the advancement of a brother be equally honourable, as to a brother? Who can show a regard to a great and powerful man equal to his brother? Who will fear to injure another, so much as him whose brother is in an exalted station? Be, therefore, second to none in submission and good will to your brother, since no one can be so particularly serviceable or injurious to you. And I would have you consider, how you can hope for greater advantages by obliging any one so much as him? Or whom can you assist that will be so powerful an ally in war? Or what is more infamous than want of friendship between brothers? Who, of all men, can we so handsomely pay regard to as to a brother? In a word, Cambyses, your brother is the

Digitized by Google

only one you can advance next to your person, without the envy of others. Therefore, in the name of the gods, children, have regard for one another, if you are careful to do what is acceptable to me. For you ought not to imagine, you certainly know, that, after I have closed this period of human life, I shall no longer exist: for neither do you now see my soul, but you conclude, from its operations, that it does exist. And have not you observed what terrors and apprehensions murderers are inspired with, by those who have suffered violence from them? What racks and torture do they convey to the guilty? Or how do you think honours should have continued to be paid to the deceased, if their souls were destitute of all power and virtue? No, children, I can never be persuaded that the soul lives no longer than it dwells in this mortal body, and that it dies on its separation; for I see that the soul communicates vigour and motion to mortal bodies, during its continuance in them. Neither can I be persuaded, that the soul is divested of intelligence, on its separation from this gross, senseless body: but it is probable that, when the soul is separated, it becomes pure and entire, and is then more intelligent. It is evident that, on man's dissolution, every part of him returns to what is of the same nature with itself, except the soul; that alone is invisible, both during its presence here and at its departure. And you may have observed, that nothing resembles death so much as sleep; but then it is that the human soul appears most divine, and has a prospect of futurity; for then, it is probable, the soul is most free and independent. If, therefore, things are as I think, and that the soul leaves the body, having regard to my soul, comply with my request. But, if it be otherwise, and that the soul, continuing in the body, perishes with it, let nothing appear in your thoughts or actions criminal or impious, for fear of the gods, who are eternal, whose power and

Digitized by Google

inspection extend over all things, and who preserve the harmony and order of the universe free from decay or defect, whose greatness and beauty is inexplicable! Next to the gods, have regard to the whole race of mankind, in perpetual succession: for the gods have not concealed you in obscurity, but there is a necessity your actions should be conspicuous to the world. If they are virtuous, and free from injustice, they will give you power and interest in all men; but if you project what is unjust against each other, no man will trust you; for no one can place a confidence in you, though his inclination to it be ever so great, when he sees you unjust, where it most becomes you to be a friend. If, therefore, I have not rightly instructed you what you ought to be to one another, learn it from those who lived before our time, for that will be the best lesson. For there are many who have lived affectionate parents to their children, and friends to their brothers; and some there are who have acted the opposite part towards each other: whichsoever of these you shall observe to have been most advantageous, you will do well in giving it the preference in your choice. But, perhaps, this is sufficient as to these matters. When I am dead, children, do not inshrine my body in gold, nor in silver, nor any thing else; but lay it in the earth as soon as possible; for what can be more happy than to mix with the earth, which gives birth and nourishment to all things excellent and good? And, as I have always hitherto borne an affection to men, so it is now most pleasing to me to incorporate with that which is beneficial to men. Now," said he, "it seems to me, that my soul is beginning to leave me, in the same manner as it is probable it begins its departure with others. If, therefore, any of you are desirous of touching my right hand, or willing to see my face, while it has life, come near to me. For, when I shall have covered it, I request of you, children, that

Digitized by Google

neither yourselves, nor any others would look upon my body. Summon all the Persians, and their allies, before my tomb, to rejoice for me; that I shall be then out of danger of suffering any evil, whether I shall be with the Deity, or shall be reduced to nothing. As many as come, do you dismiss with all those favours that are thought proper for a happy man. And," said he, "remember this, as my last and dying words. If you do kindnesses to your friends, you will be able to injure your enemies. Farewell, dear children, and tell this to your mother as from me. And all you, my friends, both such of you as are here present, and the rest who are absent—farewell!" Having said this, and taken every one by the right hand, he covered himself, and thus expired.

That Cyrus's empire was the noblest and most extensive in Asia, is even confirmed by itself. It was terminated to the east by the Red Sea, to the north by the Euxine Sea, to the west by Cyprus and Egypt, to the south by Ethiopia; and, though of such an extent, was governed by the single will of Cyrus. And, to those who were subject to him, he showed all kindness and regard, as to children, and they paid Cyrus duty and respect, as to a father. Immediately on Cyrus's death, his sons fell into dissension, cities and nations revolted, every thing tended to ruin. To show that what I assert is truth, I will begin by things divine.

I know that, in the early times of their institution, the king, and those that were subject to him, were religious observers of their oaths, and steady to their promises, even to the most criminal. If they had not been so, and that opinion of them had prevailed, no one would have trusted them; as, at this time, no one will, since their impiety is notorious: neither had the commanders of the army, in the expedition with Cyrus, put the confidence in them they did; but, relying on the ancient opinion

Digitized by Google

of their faith, they delivered themselves into their hands, and, being brought to the king, had their heads cut off. And many barbarians, in that expedition, perished, in different ways, by their treachery and deceit.

With respect, likewise, to these things, they are now degenerated from what they were. For, in their primitive institution, if any one hazarded himself for his king, or subdued any city or nation, or performed any great or excellent action, he had honours conferred upon him. Now, if any one, as Mithridates did Ariobarsanes, betrays his father, and as Leomithres his wife and children, and his friend's children, left as hostages in Egypt, in violation of the most solemn oaths and engagements, he is esteemed to have done what is profitable to his prince, and is loaded with the highest honours. "The Asiatics, being spectators of these things, are themselves sunk into impiety and injustice. For governments always resemble their governors, and the prosperity or declension, the vigour or decay of all states, is derived from the virtues and vices, the abilities or weakness of their rulers." For this reason, they are more unjust now than they were formerly. They are likewise more corrupt with respect to riches; for they do not only imprison such as are highly criminal, but the innocent; and, contrary to justice, enforce the payment of their arbitrary impositions. So that they who have great estates are under the same apprehensions as those that are involved in great crimes; for this reason, they will not associate with the better sort, nor dare they enlist themselves in the king's army. Therefore, those that are at war with them may securely ravage the country, without any opposition, if they are disposed to do it; which is owing to the impiety of the Persians towards the gods, and their iniquity towards men. Thus are their minds and dispositions

Digitized by Google

debauched to what they had been in their first institution.

How defective they are in the care of their bodies I will, in the next place, relate. It was part of their institution not to spit, or blow the nose; but, it is manifest, this was not intended to spare the discharges of the body, but they intended to disperse those humours by exercise and sweat, and, by that means, to fortify their bodies. And the custom of not spitting or blowing the nose yet continues, though that of exercising is not practised. They likewise originally used to make only one meal a day, that the rest of the day might be employed in action and the dispatch of business: and that custom yet continues. But, beginning their meal very early, they continue eating and drinking till the latest sitters up go to bed.

It was likewise an institution among them, not to bring large bottles to their banquets; evidently thinking that, by not drinking to excess, they should neither weaken their bodies nor impair their understandings. And that custom too continues, of not bringing such bottles; but they drink to such excess, that instead of bringing in, they are carried out themselves, not being able to walk without help. It was also a custom of their countries, when they were on a journey, neither to eat nor drink, nor to do publicly what is the necessary consequence of both. Abstinence from these things yet continues; but their journeys are so short, that their abstaining from those necessities is nothing wonderful or extraordinary.

Formerly they went a hunting so often, that those chases were sufficient exercises for themselves and their horses; but, since King Artaxerxes and his companions have debauched themselves with wine, they do not so frequently go out themselves, nor lead others those chases. Wherefore, if some, from

Digitized by Google

a fondness to exercise, have gone out a hunting, they have manifestly incurred envy and hatred from those who thought it a mark of superiority, and of being better than themselves.

The custom yet likewise continues of a public education of the children; but the practice of horsemanship is neglected, because there are no public assemblies where they can gain applause by those exercises. And this institution is, in every circumstance, altered. That the boys, hearing the just and equitable determinations of private causes, were instructed in justice and equity; for now they see those certainly prevail, who give the most exorbitant bribes. Formerly, likewise, boys were taught the virtues of the several productions of the earth, by which means they made use of such as were good, and abstained from those that were noxious. At this time they seem to be only instructed how to do the most hurt, therefore deaths and poisonings are no where so frequent as amongst them. And they are now much more luxurious than in Cyrus's time; for then they practised the Persian institutions and temperance, and conformed to the dress and elegance of the Medes; but now they have suffered the severity of the Persians to be quite extinguished, and retain the effeminacy of the Medes, which effeminacy and delicacy of theirs I have a mind to explain.

In the first place, it is not sufficient for them to have soft couches, but they must have carpets for their feet, that the floors may not, by resistance, make a noise, but that the carpets may break the sound. There is no diminution of what victuals used formerly to supply their tables, but new continually invented. And the like in sauces, for they are provided with cooks, who supply them with variety in both kinds. In winter, it is not sufficient for them to cover their heads, their bodies, and their feet, but they have hair-gloves for their hands.

Digitized by Google

In summer, the shade of trees and of rocks does not satisfy them; but, under these, men stand near them with artificial shades, contrived on purpose. If they possess a great number of cups, they are puffed up with it as a piece of magnificence; and, if these be unjustly acquired, they do not consider it as infamous; for injustice, and a sordid love of gain, is mightily increased among them. Formerly it was a custom of their country, never to be seen on foot on their journeys, for no other reason, but in order to become more skilful horsemen; now they have more coverings on their horses than on their couches; for they are not so careful of what concerns their horses, as to sit soft and at their ease.

With respect to the affairs of war, is it probable they should not be very much inferior to what they were at first? It was customary, in the beginning, that those who possessed lands should furnish horsemen for their army, and pay those that were in garrisons, if they fought in defence of the country: now, porters, cooks, drawers, bed-makers, dressers, waiters at the baths, servants at table, and perfumers, are enlisted in their horse by the great men, that they themselves may make an advantage of their pay. These make an appearance in number, but are of no use in war; which is manifest in experience, for their enemies have a freer passage through their country than their friends. When Cyrus had broken them of the custom of engaging at a distance, he armed with breast-plates both them and their horses, and gave every one a javelin in his hand, which they might use in a close battle; but now, they neither engage at a distance nor at hand. The foot have yet shields and small swords, or cutlasses, as in Cyrus's time, but they will not venture to come to an engagement. Neither are the chariots of that use Cyrus designed them; for he had made brave and skilful drivers, by bestow-

Digitized by Google

ing rewards and honours upon them who would fall on the heavy-armed part of an army. The Persians now, scarcely knowing who are in the chariots, imagine, that such as are unexercised in driving, understand it as well as those that have practised it: they do, indeed, make an attack, but, before they can break into the enemy's ranks, some, of their own accord, fall off, others jump down and get away, so that the chariots, being without any guides, frequently do more injury to their friends than to their enemies. Since they themselves have been sensible how much they are defective in martial affairs, they yield to others, and none of them engage in a war without the help of the Greeks, whether it be a domestic quarrel or with the Greeks themselves; for they cannot engage in a war with the Greeks without the assistance of Greeks.

Now, I think, I have executed what I undertook; for, I say, it is evident, that the Persians and their allies have less piety towards the gods, less duty and regard to their relations, are less just and equitable in their dealings with others, more effeminate, and less fitted for war, than they were in their first institution. If any one thinks differently, let him consider their actions, and he will find them confirm what I say.

THE END.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

INDEX.

ABRADATAS, king of the Susians, and husband of Panthea, 189. Ambassadors from the Assyrians to the Bactrians, while Panthea was taken captive, 190. His disposition to revolt from the Assyrian, and why, 246. Sent for by Panthea to become Cyrus's friend, ibid. His discourse with his wife and Cyrus, ibid. Offers himself to Cyrus as his friend and ally with 2000 horse, ibid. Prepares 100 armed chariots for Cyrus, 247. Description of his own chariot, ibid. Takes the front station of Cyrus's army against the enemy, 264. Cyrus struck with admiration of him, ibid. His fine armour and habit presented him by Panthea, 265. The most beautiful and graceful person in the whole army, ibid. Scene between him and his wife on taking leave, ibid. His admiration and fondness of her, and prayer, 266. Bravery against the Egyptian phalanx, 275. Terrible slaughter made by his chariots, 276. Killed by a fall from his chariot, ibid. The bitter lamentations of Panthea and Cyrus over his dead body, 286. Praise, ornaments, sacrifices, stately monument, ibid. Panthea not able to survive him, 287.

Admiration: not to seem to admire any thing, commands respect, 318. A scene of conjugal affection, drawing the admiration of a whole army, 265.

Adoration, of kings and great generals usual, 208. When first paid to Cyrus, 330.

Adultery, why and wherein unlawful, 127.

Adusius, a Persian, his character, 288. Sent by Cyrus with an army to compose their differences, ibid. His stratagem and success, 289. Made satrap of Caria, 351.

Ægyptians, allies to the Assyrian, 250. Their number and arms, ibid. Manner of their arrangement, 261. Both armed and formed ill, and how, 267. Their bravery and manner of fighting, 276. Slaughter of them by Abradatas, &c. ibid. Various success between them and the Persians, ibid. Their heroic magnanimity, 278. Submit to Cyrus's terms, but with honour, 279. Forgive Crœsus alone of all the enemy, ibid. Have cities bestowed upon them by Cyrus, ibid.

Æolians, obliged to attend Crœsus in the war, 250.

Digitized by Google

Agriculture, benefit of it, 132.
Aglaitadas, a churlish colonel, humorously exposed, 95. A like-honoured Persian gentlemen, 86. Rule with ease the rest of the Persians, 84. How and wherein superior to the common soldiers, 88. Their strict discipline, 104. Arms, 86. Manner of fight, ibid. Number of those who attended Cyrus, 62. His speech to, and commendation of them, 87. Speech of one of them to Cyrus, ibid. Consent for the Persian soldiers to have the same arms, and why, ibid. For having rewards proportioned to merit, 98. Distinguishable for obedience, 150. How cultivated by Cyrus in his new government, 304. His speech to them, ibid.
Animals, gins and snares for them described, 79.
Apparitions, divine appearance of light from heaven to Cyrus and his army, 160. Effects of it upon them, ibid. Divine apparition to Cyrus in a dream, 356.
Arabs, subject to the Assyrian, 61. Allies with him against the Medes, 84. Number of their force, ibid. Their king killed, 163. Are made subject to Cyrus, 291.
Araspes, a Mede, and companion of Cyrus from a boy, 189. Best beloved by him of all the Medes, 59. Presented with his fine Median robe, ibid. Entrusted by him with Panthea, 189. His conversation with him on the subjects of her, and beauty and love, 189, 193. Thinks himself proof against the impressions of either, 191. Is mistaken; and by what means captivated, 193. Solicits Panthea in vain, 243. Threatens to ravish her, ibid. His grief, shame, and fear, on account of Cyrus, ibid. His praise of Cyrus's candour and humanity, 244. Discourse of two souls, 245. Sent a spy to Lydia to redeem his character, 244. Meets Cyrus advancing to the enemy, 260. Honourably received and complimented by him in presence of the army, ibid. Greatly caressed hereupon, ibid. Gives him a particular account of the number, order, and designs of the enemy, 261. Engages with him against the enemy, ibid.
Armenians, neighbours of the Medes, 85. Conquered by them, 118. And on what terms subject, ibid. Neglect sending forces and tribute to Cyaxares, 110. Revolt to the enemy, ibid. Their motives hereto, 133. Number of their force, 85. Cyrus stirs up Cyaxares to war against them, 110. Their habitations and retreat, ibid. Cyrus's expedition against them, 116. His message, 115. The Armenian king's repentance, cowardice, and flight, 116. Subdued, and all taken, 117. Has his cause tried by Cyrus, 118. Brought to confession of his crime, and self-condemned, 119. The lamentations of his wife and children, ibid. Tygranes becomes his advocate, 120. Is forgiven, and taken into favour by Cyrus, 125. Account of his force and riches, ibid. What he gave to Cyrus, 126. His apology to him for putting his son's friend to death, 127. Perpetual plunders on them from the Chaldeans, 128. Always run away from

Digitized by Google

them, 130. Their sorry behaviour under Cyrus against them, ibid. The king's grateful speech to Cyrus on his defeat of the Chaldeans, 131. Peace made and established between them and the Chaldeans, 132. Good effects of it, 133. Are entertained by Cyrus, ibid. All overjoyed and do him honour, 135. Send a great force to him under Tygranes, 136. Armenian guides to Cyrus's messenger to the Indian, 134.

Army, instructions to a general concerning the health, courage, exercises, obedience and love of an army; and how and wherein to take advantage of the enemy, 71, 82. Vide War.

Arms, sling, a servile arm. 290 Vide War.

Arrogance explained, 74, 95. Laughter not a sign of it, 95.

Artabatas, satrap of Cappadocia, 352.

Artabazus, a Mede, 59. Most excellent person, ibid. Long struck with the beauty of Cyrus, ibid. His fondness to him at parting, ibid. Pretends to be his relation, ibid. and 238. His other contrivances to kiss him, 156. Delivers a message to the Medes from Cyaxares, 157. His zealous commendation of Cyrus, ibid. Stirs them up to follow him, ibid. His handsome and affectionate speech to the same end, 194. His droll speech for carrying on the war, 238. Aggravates the message of Cyrus to Araspes, 243. His handsome and humorous speech on Cyrus's becoming king, 300. One of Cyrus's principal friends, 338. Makes one at his entertainment after the races, ibid. Drolls on Hystaspes, 340. His questions and drollery with Cyrus, 343.

Arts, spring of riches, and all things valuable, 282.

Asia, men of quality attend always at the king's door, 311. Other establishments of Cyrus imitated, ibid.

Asiatics, are all attended in war by what they value most, women, &c. 157. Remark upon it, 168. Their war-chariots abolished by Cyrus, 242. Their general declension after Cyrus's death, 362.

Assyria, king of, nations subject to him, 61. His great ambition, ibid. Jealous of the Medes and Persians, ibid. Unites a powerful confederacy against them, and by what methods, ibid. Number and strength of his army and allies, 84. His exhortations to his army, 145. Defeated by Cyrus, 149, killed, ibid. and 153. Friend to Gobryas, 185. Said by him to be an excellent man, ibid. Friend of Abradatas, 240. Unfortunate in his son, 217. Despondency and revolt occasioned by his death, 153, 157, 185, 202.

Assyria, king of, son of the former, his execrable character, 222. His expedition, while prince, into Media, and defeat, 55, 58. His envy and cruelty to the son of Gobryas, and behaviour upon it, 185. His vile treatment of Gadatas, 217, 221. Injurious to the Hyrcanians, Sacians, 201. Cadusians, ibid. His attempt to part Abradatas and Panthea, 246. The despondency and flight of the Assyrian army, and their defeat after his father's death, 153, 162. Revolt of the Hyrcanians from him, 157, 161. Of Gobryas, 185. Pursued into his own country, 206.

Digitized by Google

His pride and insolence, 201. His cowardice, 205. Refuses a challenge from Cyrus, ibid. Just resentment and invective of Gadatas against him, 208, 217, 221. The revolt of Gadatas from him to Cyrus, 207, 223. Hindered from taking his revenge, and put to flight, 216. The enmity of the Sacians and Cadusians to him, 201. They join themselves to Cyrus, 208. Flies with his army to Babylon, 218. Pursued by Cyrus, 220. Defeats a party of Cadusians, 218. Consents to Cyrus's proposal of peace to all labourers, 221. Assyrian forts taken, 225. Demolished, 240. Flies to Lydia with treasures, 241. The revolt of Abradatas from him, and why, 246. Crœsus appointed general, 249. Number and strength of the allies, 250. Assyrian army defeated and put to flight, 275. Egyptians cannot forgive him, 279. Assyrian army fly to Sardes, 280. The allies retire home, ibid. Sardes taken by Cyrus, ibid. Babylon taken, and the king killed, 296. Joy of Gadatas and Gobryas upon it, ibid. Motive of his war against Cyrus, 201.

Assyrians, their arms, and manner of fight, 84. Manner of their encampment, 140. Their howling, consternation, and flight, 150, 162. All foreign slaves in their army made free by Cyrus, 184. General defection of their allies, 279. Principal nation of all, 153. Babylon, their principal city, 84, 202. Both they and their allies become subject to Cyrus, 34.

Astyages, king of the Medes, and father of Mandane, mother of Cyrus, 35. His government absolute, 48. His painting, and other ornaments of his person, 42. His feasting and drunkenness, 45. Overcame the Armenians, 118. Sends for Cyrus, and is wonderfully pleased with him, 46. Surprised at his sagacity in the expedition against the prince of Assyria, 56. Loads him with presents at parting, 59. His death, 61.

B.

Babylon, greatest city of the world, 345. Richest of all Asia, 281. Capital of Assyria, 222. Walls around it impregnable, 293. Divided by a deep river, ibid. Provided with necessaries for above twenty years, 294. Laugh at Cyrus's attempt of taking it, ibid. How taken, ibid. Description of their porches and doors, 295. Their revelling, 296. Consternation and slaughter, ibid. Their king killed, ibid. Proclamation by Cyrus for all the inhabitants to remain within, ibid. Another for them to bring out their arms, 297. Castles surrendered to Cyrus, ibid. Become tributaries and labourers to the Persians, ibid. Had Cyrus in the utmost abhorrence, 302. Methods he took to secure himself and gain their affections, ibid. et seq. Cyrus lives in it in winter, 395.

Bactrians subject to the Assyrian, 61. Afterwards subject to Cyrus, 35.

Bashfulness of youth naturally described, 50, 53.

Digitized by Google

Beauty of person commands respect, 317. Conversation between Cyrus and Araspes upon it, 190, 192. Compared to fire, ibid. Safest way to fly from it, ibid. 244. To forbear speaking of the beautiful goddess before youth, 78. Most beautiful women of all Asia, 187.

Bees love, follow, and obey their leader, 194. Cyrus compared to a master-bee, ibid.

Brothers, brotherly affection, and the duties of that relation strongly recommended by Cyrus, 360. Birth-right asserted, 358.

Burial better than being inshrined in gold, and why, 361. Cyrus orders a rejoicing about his tomb, 362.

C.

Cadusians, great enemies to the Assyrian, and why, 201. Join Cyrus with a great force, 209. Make a private excursion from Cyrus's army, and are killed and put to flight by the Assyrian, 218. Good nature of Cyrus to them, ibid. Have the choice of their own commander, 219. For carrying on the war against the Assyrian, 237.

Cambyses, king of Persia, and father of Cyrus, 35. Descended from Perseus, ibid. Government limited, 36. Had the direction of sacred affairs, 177, 350. Attends Cyrus to the borders of Media, 65. His admirable instructions to him concerning religion, policy, and art of war, ibid. 82 Noble sentiments of the gods, piety, &c. 65, 82. Binds Cyrus and the Persians by mutual obligations, 349. His speech to them both, ibid. Consents to the marriage of Cyrus with Cyaxares's daughter, 350. Death, 356. Vid. Persia, Gods, War.

Cambyses, eldest son of Cyrus, to whom he bequeaths his kingdom, 358. The dying instructions of his father to him, ibid. Dissensions between him and his brother, 362.

Camels, horses run away from them with fear, 279. No brave man will mount a camel in war, 280. Of no other use than for the baggage train, ibid.

Cappadocians, subject to the Assyrian, 61. Aribæus, king of, his force against Cyrus, 84. Killed by the Hyrcanians, 163. Allies to the Assyrian in the second engagement, 250. Overcome by Cyrus, 35, 291.

Carians, subject to the Assyrian, 61. Invited, but did not attend the Assyrian, 84. Divided into parties: both call in Cyrus, 288. How reconciled by Adusius, and good effects of it, 289. Beg Cyrus to send Adusius as their governor, 290. Garrisons left in their castles for Cyrus, 289.

Chariots, used in war, 242. The Trojan and Asiatic ones abolished by Cyrus, ibid. Another kind invented, ibid. Scythe chariots of Abradatas, 247. Execution done by them, 276. Description of Abradatas's chariot, 247. Chariot-races and prizes, 333. The chariot at the procession of Cyrus, 330.

Chaldeans, a most warlike people, 129. Poor, 130. Country

Digitized by Google

mountainous, 130. Borderers on the Armenians, 125. At perpetual war with them, 128. Arms, 129. Ever put the Armenians to flight, ibid. Their heights attacked and gained by Cyrus, ibid. Peace between them and Armenians, 131. Good effects of it, 133. Applaud and thank Cyrus, ibid. Send a force to Cyrus, 135. Chaldean guides to Cyrus's messenger to the Indian, ibid. With the Persians mount the fortifications of Sardes, 280. Plunder the city, ibid. How terrified at his displeasure, and punished, ibid.

Characters, of a greedy person, 93. Churl, 95. Sacian cupbearer, 45. Eunuchs, 302. A fine polite child and youth, 42, 61.

Children, admirable institution of them in Persia, 36, 42.

Children, care of their education makes the most excellent men, ibid. Ought not to be taught the arts of war only, 78. Not to speak of the beautiful goddess before them, ibid. Cyrus careful of good examples for them, 307. Less bashful than youth, 49. Discourses and manners of a fine child agreeably represented, 42, 50.

Chrysantas, one of the alike-honoured, 101. Of no advantageous person, ibid. Of excellent understanding, ibid. His modest description of himself, ibid. In chief favour and esteem with Cyrus, 339. His advice and speech for proportionable rewards, 97, 102. Transported with the orders of Cyrus, 114. Made commander of a thousand for his gallantry and obedience, 152. His humorous speech in behalf of horsemanship, 170. His great abilities, 340. His speech changing the panic of an army into grief, 252. His speech to the army to instil obedience, 309. His affectionate speech to Cyrus on his becoming king, 301. Extremely useful to Cyrus, 340. His counsel generally approved and followed, 102, 170, 260, 309, 301. Cyrus's praise of him, 340. Cyrus's raillery on his person, with his repartee, 341. Cyrus kissed him, 343. Appointed satrap of Lydia and Ionia, 351.

Cilicians, subject to the Assyrian, 61. Invited, but did not attend him in war, 84. Join the Assyrian army afterwards under Crœsus, 250. Cyrus never sent a governor over them, and why, 288.

Cities, difference between great and little ones in arts, provisions, &c. 321.

Commander, office, and part of one amply described, with regard to his own army, the enemy, and the gods, 70, 82. To pay the greatest regard to the gods, 83. Never to engage contrary to sacrifice or auguries, 81. To consult the gods by divination, 74. Vid. War.

Company, good, powerful assistant to the good soul, 245. Of men of piety to be sought, 315.

Conquest harder to preserve than conquer, 305. Methods to preserve a conquest, ibid. Right it gives over persons and goods, 304.

Digitized by Google

Conversation, Persian, one of a humorous kind in Cyrus's tent, 93, 100. Another of the same sort, 332, 343. Serious things mixed with merry, 96.

Courage, not to be instilled by a speech, 146; but by good laws, examples, and habit, ibid. Best inspired by piety and devotion, 148. Shameful in one that sharpens a lance to want it, 255. Instances of it, 58, 148, 266, 272, 282.

Court. Noble example and orders of Cyrus to his court, 311, et seq. Piety, virtues, politeness, and decorum which reigned in it. 315.

Cowardice, in an army how infectious, 203. Impotency it gives to a force superior, 149, 275.

Crœsus, king of Lydia, 61. His mean ancestors, 284. Sent to consult the Delphian oracle concerning his having sons, 283. Answer and disappointment, ibid. To enquire after happiness. Answer, and his false notions of it, ibid. His happiness in peace, ibid. Persuaded by the Assyrian king to make war upon the Medes and Cyrus, ibid. Number of his force, 84. Quite sunk on the defeat of the Assyrian army, 153. Flies away by night, 163. So came off from great danger, 283. Is chosen commander in chief of the Assyrians, and confederate army, 249. His temptations to accept of this command, ibid. Acknowledgment of his ignorance in it, 284. The number of his confederates, 250. Prepares for an engagement, 261. Defeated, 275. He and his army fly to Sardes, 280. Deserted by his allies, ibid. Sardes taken, and a guard set over him, ibid. Brought to Cyrus, 281. Calls him sovereign, ibid. Gives him advice not to plunder, which is followed, 282. Gives him account of his consulting the oracle, ibid. Modest accusation of himself, 284. His high opinion of Cyrus, ibid. Comes to know himself by his punishment, ibid. Enquires after happiness of Cyrus, ibid. Is pitied by Cyrus, ibid. Cyrus restores him his wife, daughters, friends, servants, and table, ibid. Is obliged to him for cutting them off from war, ibid. His love and praises of his wife, ibid. His good humour admired by Cyrus, 285. Carried about by Cyrus every where, and why, ibid. Gives him a writing of the treasures he delivered to him, 291. Attends him to Babylon, ibid. His advice to him to hoard up, 324. Convinced by him, that friends are the richest treasure, ibid.

Cunning and stratagem towards an enemy lawful, 76. Lessons for that purpose, ibid. &c. Compared to gins and snares for animals, ibid. Story of the Persian who professed to teach it, 77.

Cyaxares, son of Astyages, king of the Medes, 52. Appears jealous of Cyrus from his very childhood, ibid. His expedition under his father against the king of Assyria's son, 57. Succeeds to the kingdom, 61. Sends to the public council of Persia to Cambyses and Cyrus for assistance against the Assyrian, 62. Relates to Cyrus the numbers of the enemy, and their manner of fighting, 84, 85. Approves of Cyrus's advice as to the arms of

Digitized by Google

the Persian soldiery, 86. Sends him a fine robe to appear with his army before the Indian ambassadors, 107. Offended at the meanness of his robe, 108. Gives audience to the Indians, 109. Grants Cyrus leave to interpose with a question, ibid. Conversation with him, ibid. 112. Persuaded by him to make war on the Armenians, 110. Allows him a force, 111. Goes himself to strengthen his garrisons against the Assyrian, ibid. Armenian treasure sent by Cyrus to him, 136. Approves of Cyrus's proposal for carrying the war into the enemies country, 141. His opinion when to march, 142. Gives him positive orders to do it, 147. Accompanies him and the army against the enemy, 141. His army under the conduct of Cyrus defeats the enemy, 149. Congratulated by Cyrus on the victory, 152. Luxury and effeminacy, 154. His invidious speech against pursuing the enemy, ibid. Hardly prevailed upon to let the Medes attend Cyrus voluntarily, 156. He, with a few Medes, stays behind, 175. His drunkenness and mistake, ibid. Sends an angry message to Cyrus, 175. And orders to the Medes to come back, 176. Cyrus's expostulatory letter to him, 179. Contemptible to his own soldiers for his effeminacy, 183. Fine women chosen for him according to his taste, ibid. 187. His messenger greatly caressed by Cyrus, ibid. Cyrus's message to consult with him, 225. Tent provided for him to his taste, 226. Does not care to admit Cyrus's army into his territory, ibid. Met by Cyrus, ibid. Invidious at Cyrus's attendance and success, ibid. Refuses to kiss him, and weeps on that account, 227. Private interview between them, ibid. 233. Cause of his resentment, grief and jealousy, 227, 233. Reconciled at length, and kisses him, ibid. Cyrus proposes to him a debate upon the separation of the army, 234. Pleased with the respect of Cyrus and the Medes to him, ibid. All the allies attend at his doors, 236. Adorns his person, 237. Sits before them all on a Median throne, ibid. Proposes to them the question of war, or separation of the army, ibid. Are all for war, ibid. Appears to concur in it, 240. Agrees to build a fort and an engine, ibid. War goes on under the conduct of Cyrus, 241, 297. He with a third part of the Medes takes care of affairs at home, 257. Cyrus makes a complete conquest and settles his government, 297, 347. Palaces and domestics set apart by Cyrus for Cyaxares in Babylon, 348. Cyrus makes a visit, ibid. Mutual presents, ibid. Offers his daughter to Cyrus in marriage, ibid. and all Media as her dowery, ibid. Answer of Cyrus, ibid. His daughter extremely beautiful, ibid. Cyrus married her, and had two sons by her, 350, 357. Vide Cyrus.

Cyprians, allies to the Assyrian army under Crœsus, 250. Defeated by Cyrus, and become subject to him, 35, 280, 355. Readily engage with Cyrus against the Carians, 288. Therefore suffered to choose their own kings, paying tribute, &c. ibid.

Digitized by Google

Cyrus. General survey of his vast dominions and cause of it, 35, 36. Attributed to his understanding and conduct, ib. Excelled all other kings, 34. Admirable for inspiring men with love and fear, 35. All desired to be subject to him, ib. Descended from Perseus, ib. From the Gods, 156, 284. Son of Cambyses and Mandane, 35. General description of his mind, Person while a child, ib. Till twelve was educated under the Persian discipline, 42. Great proficiency under it, 43. Appointed judge over others, 47. His own story of his wrong decision of a cause and punishment, ib. His mother carries him into Media to Astyages, 42. His childish discourses and manners with his grandfather agreeably related, ib. 50. His sprightliness, simplicity, good-nature, generosity, love of esteem and praise, 49. Discourse with his mother upon justice, 47. Extremely agreeable and officious towards all, ib. His agreeable overtalkativeness accounted for, ib. Manners and discourses of his youth while in Media, 50, 60. Bashfulness, 50, 53. Exercises with his equals, and politeness, 50. Enthusiasm in hunting, 51, 53. Natural description of it, 52. Of himself, ib. Ingenuous concern for his grandfather's displeasure, 53. Freedom from envy, and generous praise of his companions, 54. Doth service and pleasure to all, ib. Puts on arms for the first time, 56. Part he bore against the Prince of Assyria, 56, 58. Sagacity, 56. Boldness, 57, 58. Esteemed by his grandfather author of the victory, ib. Admired by all, ib. Sent for home, ib. His obedience to his father, and regard to his country, ib. His grandfather's presents, 59. His presents to his companions, ib. Araspes the youth he loved most, ib. 189. Presents him with his Median Robe, 59. Astyages and all manner of people set him going, ib. Mutual grief at parting, ib. Story of the fond Mede pretending to be his relation, ib. Return to Persia, 60. Strict temperance and handsome behaviour, ib. Passeth a year more amongst the boys, ib. Enters and completes himself in the order of youth, 61. Becomes a man full grown, 62. Outdoes all, ib. Cyaxares sends to Persia for assistance against the Assyrians, ib. And to himself to come commander, ib. Elders choose him commander, ib. Number of his army, ib. Of the alike-honoured, and how formed, ib. His prayers and sacrifices, ib. Speech to the alike-honoured, ib. Appeals to them for his piety, 65. Attended by his father to the borders of Media, ib. His father's instructions to him in religion, policy, and the art of war, ib. 82. Arrives with his army at Media, 83. Piety, ib. Asks Cyaxares the enemies number and manner of fight, 84. Proposeth for all the Persian soldiers to have the close arms of the alike-honoured, 85. Consented to by Cyaxares, 86. Exerciseth his soldiers with their new weapons, 88. Emulation of all, and how, 89. Distributes each regiment in a tent, and why, 90. Gives them a sweat continually, 91. For having proportionable rewards appointed, 97. So deter-

Digitized by Google

mined, and he appointed judge of merit, 104. Praised by Pheraulas, ib. Is for weeding the vicious and slothful out of his army, 98. Invites those who exercise well to supper, 92, 105. Good Effect of it, 107. His agreeable manner of entertaining them, 92, 100. His laughter, refined raillery, and praise on the stories of the greedy person and the letter, 95. Apology for such as laughed, 97. Part in the drollery on a churl, 95 On Sambaulas and the ugly person, 100. Mixeth matters of instruction, 92, 97. Obedience to Cyaxares, 108. Disposeth his army for the view of the Indian ambassadors, ib. Regardless of his habit, ib. Asks leave to propose making the Indian arbitrator, 109. Conversation with Cyaxares, ib. 112. Wants to raise more treasure for his army, 110. Tempts him to make war on the Armenian, 111. A force allowed him by Cyaxares, ib. Prepares for this expedition, 112. His sacrifices, adoration, happy omens, ib. Arrives on the Armenian borders, ib. Disguiseth his designs by a hunt, ib. His message to the Armenian, 115. March and orders to his soldiers, ib. Declares war against only those who run away, 117. Takes the Armenians wives, children, and riches, ib. Sends a herald to the king, who submits, 118. Tries his cause in presence of his army and the Armenians, ib. Brings him to confession of his crime, &c. 119. Hears Tygranes, 120, 124. Pleased with his Proposal, 125. Takes the Armenian into favour, and on what terms, ib. Gives back his wives and children, and invites them to supper, 126. Enquiries of Tygranes for the sage who used to hunt with him, ib. His compassion and noble candour, 127. Their praises of his person, wisdom, and noble virtues, ib. What he accepted from the Armenian, ib. Joined by an Armenian force under Tygranes, 129. Engages with, and defeats the Chaldæans, 130. Gains their heighths, ib. Builds a fortress there, ib. Makes peace between Armenians and Chaldæans, 132. Keeps the summits in his own hands as guarantee, 133. Takes many Chaldæans into his service, 134. Sends to the Indian for Money, 135. His policy in having Chaldæan and Armenian guides to his messenger, ib. Leaves a Mede governor of the Fortress, ib. Honoured and extolled by both Armenians and Chaldæans, ib. Refuseth treasure from the Armenian's wife, 136. Sends both army and treasure to Cyaxares, ib. Returns into Media, ib. Liberality to, and culture of his army, ib. Wants to come to action, 137. Arms and forms his army completely, ib. Inspires them with ardour, 138. Arrives with Cyaxares and the army in the enemies country, 140. Their march, sacrifices, prayers, ib. 143. His council, 143. Opinion of a general's exhortation to his army, 145. Marcheth in obedience to Cyaxares, 148. How he raised their courage and ardour, ib. By devotion, ib. By exhortation, 149. Engagement, ib. Enemy put to flight, ib. His courage and conduct, 150. Their ready obedience to him, ib. His gratitude to the

Digitized by Google

gods, 151. To his army, ib. Signalizes and rewards Chrysantes, ib. Congratulates Cyaxares, ib. His great fame, 157. For pursuing the enemy, 154. Obtains leave of Cyaxares to be attended with as many Medes as would go voluntarily, 156. Almost all of them attend him, 159. Insinuating discourse with Artabazus, 156. Hyrcanians revolt and send messengers to Cyrus, 157. His policy, ib. He marcheth, 158. His prayer and gratitude, 159. Hyrcanians in a body leave the enemy and join Cyrus, 161. Encouragement and orders to his army, ib. Engagement with the enemy, 163. Victory, ib. Flight of great part of the enemy, ib. Orders a handsome entertainment for his army, 164. Uses Persian abstinence as to treasures and provisions, 165, 174. Adviseth the Persians to do the same, ib. His policy herein, and in cultivating the allies, ib. Vex'd at the superior behaviour and advantages of the Medes and Hyrcanians, by means of their horse, 167. His fairness to, and praise of them, 166, 168. Proposeth the establishment of horsemanship amongst the Persians by the law of reputation, 168. Makes friends of the enemies prisoners, 173. His vigilance and orders during the feasting of the allies, 174. Angry message to him from Cyaxares, 177. His politic behaviour to the messenger, 178. Sends an expostulary letter to him, 179. And a message to the Persians for an encrease of his army, ib. Orders the enemies arms to be burnt, 180. Gives the distribution of the enemies effects to the allies, 181. His directions to them in favour of the Gods, Magi, Cyaxares, and themselves, 183. Disregard of himself and the Persians, 184. Allies give him the enemies horse, ib. Forms a body of Persian horsemen of 2000, 195, 184. His polite raillery on them, ib. Proclamation to manumise all foreign slaves in the Assyrian army, ib. Orders them arms and to attend the horse, ib. He and the Persians march a horseback, ib. Orders the alike-honoured to choose a foot commander in his stead, ib. Scene between him and Gobryas, 185. Receives him as his ally, 187. Distribution of the enemies effects, ib. The fine women allotted to him, ib. His self-denial and politeness, 188, 189. Gives one of them to a Mede, ib. Afraid to see his beautiful captive Panthea, 190. Gives charge of her to Araspes, 189.. Advice to him, 194. His motives for pursuing the war, 193. All the allies for it, 194, 195. Medes and all attend him with pleasure, 194. His grateful prayer, 195. Orders, ib. Marcheth to Gobryas, ib. Gobryas's rich presents to him, 196. Presents him with his daughter, 197. His noble self-denial, ib. Commendation of his friends, ib. Invites Gobryas to Supper, 199. Attended by him with his horse, 200. Seeks information of the enemy, 201. For marching instantly to Babylon, and why, 202. Arrives in the enemies country, 204. Takes considerable booty, ib. Distribution of it, 205. Marches towards Babylon, ib. Sends a challenge of duel to the Assyrian king, ib. The

Digitized by Google

challenge refused, ib. Makes a friend of Gadatas, 206, 212. Obtains a fortress of the enemy by stratagem with Gadatas, 207. Intercourse with him, and care of his interest, 208. Hyrcanians compliment to him, ib. How the fortress was disposed of, ib. Cadusians and Sacians become his zealous allies, ib. Grateful care of Gadatas's territory against the Assyrian, 209. His timely aid to him, 216. Orders to the whole army on their march to Babylon, 210. His vast memory, 212. Sentiments on calling people by their names, ib. Appoints a party for intelligence, 214. Enters the territory of Gadatas, 216. Gadatas's presents and gratitude to him, 217. Cyrus's modest self-denial, ib. His care, humanity, and candour towards the Cadusian body, 218. Use he makes of their private excursion and defeat, ib. Care of the dead and revenge on the enemy, 220. Stipulates peace for the labouring people with the Assyrian, ib. Compassionates Gadatas, 221. Accepts of his present of horse, ib. Modestly refuseth the rest, 222. Of opinion not to lead the army near the walls of Babylon, and why, 224. Takes three forts of the enemy, 227. Sends to Cyaxares for his advice, ib. Orders his tent to be furnished in the best manner, 226. Persians send him a reinforcement of 40000 archers, ib. Meets Cyaxares with great attendance, ib. Interview between them, ib. 233. Cyaxares is angry, 226. He expostulates the case and ingratiates himself with him, 228, &c. Makes the Medes pay him respect, 233. Desires him to propose a debate on the war, 234. Adviseth his friend to persuade the allies to a war, ib. Allies desire him to carry on the war, 236. Cyaxares makes the proposition for debate, 237. In jest and earnest are all for it, 236, 238. Raillery between Cyrus and Hystaspes, 237. Preparations made according to Cyrus's opinion, 238. Encampment of his army and care in it, 241. Prepares to follow the army to Lydia, ib. Invents a new kind of war chariots, 242. Provides camels, ib. Story of Araspes and Panthea, 243. His great tenderness and candour towards him, ib. Contrives to send him spy to Lydia, and gives him instructions, 245. Panthea's gratitude and praise, 246. His handsome reception of Abradatas who brought him 2000 horse, 247. Alters his chariots by seeing Abradatas's, ib. Embassy from the Indian with Treasures, 248. Sends some of the Indian spies to the enemy, ib. Raiseth emulation in his army, 249. Abradatas's presents of 100 chariots, ib. His army terrified with the Indian's account, 250. How their terror was appeased, 251. Is for marching directly to the enemy, 253. His care of his army's diet, necessaries, &c. ib. 256. Orders a sacrifice, ib. Manner and order of their march, 257. Cyaxares stays behind, ib. Approach and condition of the enemy, 258. His stratagem to surprize a party of them, 259. Honourable reception of Araspes, 260. Account of the number, designs, and order of the enemy, 261. His orders to his army, ib. 264. Fine appearance of it, ib.

Digitized by Google

Struck with admiration of Abradatas, 266. His encouragement by sacrifices and a speech, ib. Exhorts them to devotions, 268. Observations of the enemy, and orders thereupon, 270. His devout signal and exhortation, 271. Speaks presumptuously of success, 274. Deep silence in his army, 275. He and the whole army sing a Hymn, ib. Make a shout to the god of battle, ib. Engagement, ib. Relieves the Persians, 277. Dismounted, and mounts another horse, ib. Enemy defeated, 278. Struck with the bravery of the Egyptians, ib. Offers them honourable terms, and gives them cities, ib, 279. Pursues Crœsus to Sardes, and takes the city, 280. His anger with the Chaldeans for plundering, ib. Orders Crœsus to be brought to him, Interview between them, 281. Follows his Advice, 282. His generosity to him, 284. Compassion, ib. Admires his good humour, 285. Carries him about every where, and why, ib. His orders concerning the treasure, ib. Enquires after Abradatas, ib. Scene of Affliction over his dead body, between Cyrus and Panthea, 286. Endeavours to comfort her, ib. Honours he paid to his memory, 287. Lamentations over Panthea, 288. Erects stately monuments to them both, ib. Sends Adusius to the Carians with an army, ib. Cilicians and Cyprians join Cyrus. 288. Sends an army to conquer Phrygia, 290. Garrisons left there for him, ib. Greeks pay him tribute, ib. Leaves a garrison at Sardes, ib. Uses those whom he disarmed like slaves, 291. Overthrows the Phrygians of greater Phrygia, ib. Cappadocians, ib. Arabians, ib. Arrives with a vast army at Babylon, ib. Disposition of them in surrounding the walls, 292. Consults about taking the city, 293. Contrives a ditch for draining the river, and turrets to amuse the enemy, ib. Takes it by night in a great revel, 296, King is killed, ib. Castles surrendered to him, 297. Proclamation for all to bring their arms, ib. Distribution of the spoil, ib. Makes the Babylonians Labourers and tributaries to them, ib. Takes on him the State of a king, ib. Address to all people, 298. Weary of the court paid to him, ib. His friends regret the want of his company, 300. His Sacrifices, 301. Applies himself to the affairs of government, 302. His observations upon eunuchs, ib. Appoints them guards of his person, 303. And Persians guard about his Palace, ib. Establisheth a garrison in Babylon, 304. Distresseth the Babylonians, and why, ib. Cultivates the alike-honoured, and why, ib. Vindicates the war, and right of conquest, ib. Admonishes them to a life of virtue, 305. Chrysantas's commendation of his disinterestedness, 310. Men of quality attend at his doors, 311. And his gates, ib. Constitutes his several officers, ib. His careful choice of his colleagues in power, ib. Noble example to them, 312. Wise Oeconomy, ib. His methods with those who did not attend, 313. His example to those who did, 314. In piety, justice, goodness, modesty, self-denial, and respectful behaviour, ib. 315. His opinion of these virtues, 316

Digitized by Google

Great regard to the Magi, 314. His rewards on whom principally bestowed, 315, 317. Good effects of his orders and example, 316, 317. Practises them in hunting, 317. His thoughts on dominion, ib. His methods to appear venerable, 318. Distinction between the ingenuous and slaves, ib. All equally call him father, ib. His measures for the security of his government, ib. His good-nature, and love to mankind, 319. His courtship to his friends, ib. Vast presents, 322. How he gained the eyes and ears of the king, ib. His policy, 323. His saying of Kings, ib. His conversation with Crœsus, 324. Convinceth him that friends are the richest treasure, ib. Provisions for the health of his subjects, 326. Visits the sick himself, ib. Raises emulation by games and prizes, ib. Appoints judges, 327. Gains the entire affection of his friends, 330. His procession, 327. Pheraulas hath the care of it, ib. Hath adoration paid him, 330. Dismisseth Daipharnes for his absurdity, 332. Sacrificeth at the sacred inclosures, ib. Appoints horse-races, and chariot-races to the several nations, ib. Wins the Prize at each, ib. Presents his prize of cups to Pheraulas, 334. Compliment on his friend to the Sacian, 333. Invites his friends to an entertainment, 339. Order of precedence at his table, 338. Prefers acts of love to war, 339. Why he preferred Chrysantas to Hystaspes, 340. His politeness, innocent and agreeable jesting and laughter, ib. Proposeth to be a match-maker, 341. Rallies Chrysantas, ib. Kisseth him, ib. 343. Dismisseth the chief of his allies, ib. Presents to all, ib. Distributes according to merit, ib. His vast generosity applauded, ib. His empire settled, 345. Prepares for a journey to Persia, ib. Exact order of his encampment, 346. His opinion of the tactic art, 347. Makes a visit to Cyaxares, 348. Mutual presents, ib. Accepts his offer of his daughter on condition of his parent's consent, ib. Arrives at Persia, ib. His presents to all, ib. Cambyses's speech to him, and the Persian magistrates, ib. Bound by oath to observe their laws, 350. His parents consent to his marriage, ib. Returns to Media, and marries the daughter of Cyaxares, ib. Carries her with him to Babylon, ib. Appoints Satraps over the conquered nations, ib. His policy in abridging their power, ib. Directs them to imitate him, 351. Orders an annual progress to the provinces, and why, 354. Appoints stage-horses through his whole kingdom for intelligence, ib. Assembles his army, 355. Conquers from Syria to the Red-Sea, ib. Subdues Egypt, ib. Bounds of his empire, ib. Enjoys perpetual spring, and how, ib. Beloved by all. His seventh and last journey to Persia in his old Age, 356. Makes sacrifices, and leads up the Persian chorus, ib. Divine apparition in his dream, ib. His sacrifice, ib. Prayer, ib. His loss of appetite and indisposition, 357. He summons his sons, friends, and the magistrates of Persia, ib. Bequeaths the kingdom to his eldest son, 358. Satrapy of the Medes, &c. to his youngest, ib. Recommends brotherly affec-

Digitized by Google

tion to them, 359. And piety and virtue, 360. His opinion of the soul, its nature, future existence, ib. Of the eternity of the world, and mankind, ib. His noble character of the divinity, ib. Veneration for the earth, and love of mankind, 361. Would have his body buried, not inshrined, ib. Desires them to rejoice about his tomb, 362. His last advice, ib. His death and decency in dying, ib.

Cyrus, his first speech to the alike-honoured, 62. Conversation with his father, on religion, policy, and the art of war, 65, 82. Another speech to the alike-honoured, 86. To all the Persian soldiers, 87. His speech upon rewards to an army, 101. Upon the virtue and vice of an army, 98. To his Colonels before his engagement with the Armenian, 113. His trial of the Armenian's cause, 118. Speech to Cyaxares on marching into the enemies country, 139. To Chrysantas, on the subject of a General's exhortation, 146. His signal hymn, prayer, and exhortation before, and in the engagement, 148, 266, 270, 271. Speech to his army after a victory, 151. Upon pursuit of the enemy, 161. To his centurions, on self-denial, 165. On horsemanship, and for forming a body of horse, 168. To prisoners of war, 173. Artful one to Cyaxares's messenger, 177. His letter to Cyaxares, 179. His speeches concerning distribution of the spoil, 181, 182. Conversation with Araspes on Panthea, and beauty and love, 189, 193. Insinuating speech to the allies, ib. To Gobryas on faith and justice, 197. On marching to Babylon, 202. Challenge to the Assyrian, 205. Grateful speech concering Gadatas, 210. His speech and orders calling every person by his name, ib. His candid speech on the wrong excursion of the Cadusians, 218. Interview with Gadatas, 221. With Cyaxares, 227, 233. His speech on the war, 238. Another conversation with Araspes, 243. His speech to appease the terror of his army, 257. Concerning the Diet, Artificers, Instruments, &c. proper for their expedition, 253, 257. To his leaders on the day of battle, 266. Interview and conversation with Crœsus, 281. Scene between him and Panthea over Abradatas's dead body, 286. Speech to his commanders to enter Babylon, 295. His address to the people on his becoming king, 298. Speech to his friends on the toil of a kingdom, ib. Speech to them in vindication of the war, and right of conquest, and recommending a life of virtue, 304. His saying of kings, 323. Conversation with Crœsus on riches and friends, 324. His merry and polite conversation at an entertainment, 92, 101, 339, 343. Speech to his friends upon generosity, 344. Concerning the power of his Satraps, 351. Speech to his Satraps, 353. His admirable prayer and speech before his death, 356, 357, 362. Reflections on his empire, ib. Cyrus and his subjects like father and children, ib. The dissentions of his sons after his death, ib. Revolt of cities and nations, ib. Universaldegeneracy of the Persian state and empire, ib. to the end.

Digitized by Google

D

Daipharnes dismissed from his office by Cyrus for his absurdity, 332.
Death, Compared to sleep, 360. Reason of honours paid to the dead, ib. Matter of rejoicing, 362. Decency in dying, ib.
Decorum, in the mind, passions, and behaviour described, 315. Noble effects of it, 316. All eagerness and greediness in eating and drinking against it, 199. Persians, strange example of this kind of it, ib. Noise and loud laughter against it, 316. Innocent jesting and laughter very consistent with it, 199. In the manner of dying witness Cyrus, 362.
Delphos, its oracle consulted by Croesus, and answers, 282. Vid. God, Knowledge.
Divination, to consult the Gods by it, 66. Greatest inlet to knowledge, ib.
Drunkenness, exposed after a childish manner, 45.

E

Eagle, of good omen, 83, 112.
Earth, gives birth and nourishment, to all things excellent and good, 361. Happiness to mix with it after death for the good of mankind, ib. The best couch abounding with the noblest furniture, 199. Veneration paid to it by victims and libations, 140, 332.
Eating together, one of the best methods to cultivate men, 320. Persian abstinence and decorum in eating, admirable, 199.
Effeminacy, Median, described, 365. Renders even kings contemptible to their subjects, 183.
Enemies, noble instance of a man's forgiving one who put him to death unjustly, 126.
Errors, human nature subject to them, 127. From ignorance, involuntary, ib. Therefore to be forgiven even in the case of putting to death, ib.
Eunuchs, Admirable observation of Cyrus in their favour, 302. Best guards of a King's person, ib.
Example, noble influence of a good one in a Prince, 312. Vid. Page.
Eyes and ears of the King, a sort of spies so called, 322. Artifical colour given to them, 42, 318.

F

Faith, an invaluable possession, 197. Opportunity of shewing it, the noblest present, ib.
Fear, description of it, and its effects, 122. More terrible than actual punishment, ib. Of men banished by divine fear, 147.
Forgiveness, noble instance of it, 126. Cyrus ever disposed to it, 244.
Friends, methods to cultivate them, 319. The best and richest treasure, 324. A King's best security, 359. To be procured

Digitized by Google

by love and beneficence, ib. Kindness to them, the best means to injure enemies, 362.
Funeral ornaments, sacrifices, burial, and a monument for a deceased body, 287. Rejoicing about his tomb ordered by Cyrus, 362.

G

Gadatas, prince of a territory bordering on Babylon, and subject to the Assyrian, 222. Description of his happiness under the Assyrian's father, ib. Made a eunuch by the Assyrian, and on what pretence, 202 His resentment and invective against him, 222. Revolt, 208, 209, 222. Delivers up a fortress of the enemy to Cyrus, by stratagem, 207. Adoration of Cyrus, and mutual intercourse with him, 208. His territory attacked by the Assyrian, 209. Himself betrayed by one under his command, 215. Wounded by him, 216. Both person and territory timely saved by Cyrus, ib. Gratitude to Cyrus, 217. Prayer, ib. Presents to him, 221. Bemoans his fate, ib. Attends Cyrus with his mother, 223. And many others, and his policy herein, ib. Of great use to Cyrus, ib. In a panic, lest Cyrus should not pursue the war, 236. Rallied on that score, by Hystaspes, 237. Admired by Cyrus for his conversation, 338. Made commander of his eunuchs, 337. And steward of his household, ib. Noble presents made him by Cyrus and others, 338. Hath his revenge in killing the Assyrian, 296. Joy and pleasure in having done it, ib.
Generosity, redounds to self-interest, 326.
Glory, renders labour the lighter, 75.
Gobryas, Assyrian Prince of a large territory, 184. Friend and tributary to the Assyrian's father, 185. Furnished him with a force, ib. On his death revolted to Cyrus, ib. Brings him horsemen and arms, ib. Relates to him the cruel fate of his son from the Assyrian, ib. Begs Cyrus to be his avenger, ib. Offers Cyrus to become his ally and pay him tribute, 186. Offers him his daughter, 187. Reception of Cyrus and his army in his territory, 196. Presents him with treasures and his daughter, 197. Wonders at his meaning, ib. Wants one of Cyrus's friends to be his son-in-law, 198. Admires the Persian temperance and decorum, 199. Attends Cyrus with his horse, 200. Compliment on him, ib. Informs him of the enemy, his injuries and foes, 201. Booty presented him by Cyrus, 204. Carries a challenge from him to the Assyrian, 205. His reply to the Assyrian's answer, ib. Employed by Cyrus to gain Gadatas, and obtain a fortress by stratagem, 206. Succeeds with him, 207. Applauds the faith of Cyrus, 238. For carrying on the war, ib. Advises him to lead near the walls of Babylon, 224. Shews Cyrus the way to the city and the Assyrian's palace, 295. His revenge in killing the king, 296. Pleasure in satisfying it, ib. One of Cyrus's chief friends, 337. Invited by him to an entertainment, ib. His admiration and praise of Gobryas 339.

Digitized by Google

Praise of Cyrus's friends, 341. His books of sayings and humour, ib. Wants a son-in-law, ib. Accepts of Hystaspes, 342. His noble description of the earth, 199.

God, Gods, their nature, eternal, 82, 360. Omniscient, ib. See and hear all things, 321. Power over all things universal, 361. Of unerring truth, 282. Their greatness and beauty inexplicable, 361. Act by settled law, 66. Rejects servile flattery, ib. Defended from partiality, 82. Jove the greatest of all, 266. &c. Their providence, harmony and eternal beauty of the world ascribed to it, 361. Human wisdom, power, riches, nothing without them, 82. Act by settled and established laws, 67. Establishment as to those who will not labour, 101. Bring about the revolution of seasons gradually, 254. Particular gods guardians of particular countries, 83, 140. God of battle, 275. Of fire, 295. Other particular divinities, 65, 83, 140, 148, 282, 301. Jove supreme of all, paternal, regal, saviour, leader, in all places, and at all times, 65, 140, 148, 269, 270, 271, 284, 356. Never to be accused, but self alone, 283. Prayers, piety to them—not to pray for what is against their settled laws, 67. Ill consequence of distrusting God, 282. Of tempting him by impertinent curiosity, 283. To be consulted only in real wants, 282. Improper petitions granted turned into curses, 283. Necessity and use of consulting them, 65, 82. The greatest inlet to knowledge, ib. Human wisdom, power, riches, nothing without them, ib. Human endeavours, and means to be used, 66. To be mindful of them in prosperity, ib. 314. In every thing and circumstance, 81. Advantage of piety to one's self and others, ib. 314. To reverence the gods, 360. Noble effects of divine fear, 148, 275. To imitate God, 254. Prayers to them for virtue, 205, 266. Praises to them, 356. Reject servile flattery, 66. Hymn sung to them in war, 148, 275. Early in the morning, 314. Supplications to particular gods at particular places, and particular times and circumstances, 83, 140. To Jove supreme at all places and times, 265, 284. &c. Sacrifices to them, 81, 268, 301, 314, 322, 349, 358. Place by the Magi, 187, 285. Rich presents and sacrifices to them without true knowledge and piety, 283. To be with the Deity in a future state, a happiness, 362.

Good, to have compassion, zeal, joy, and good-nature, in every one's power, 75.

Government, quick dissolution of the several kinds of it, 33. Owing to want of skill and conduct, 34. Of men compared with that of other animals, 33. They more easily governed than men, ib. Of men, not impossible or difficult, exemplified in that of Cyrus, 34. Difference between a tyranny and a government bounded by law, 48. State not monarchial, observation in praise of it, 310. Persian form tended to make the most excellent men, 34. People imitate their governors, 363. How on the dissolution of a limited government, religion, virtue and the

Digitized by Google

art of war decline, exemplified in the Persian state, 362, et seq. Part of a governor, 67. Good government the noblest work in the world, ib. Prudential rules for one, 68.
Gratitude, taught, and the want of it punished, among the Persians, 37. Prayers to obtain this virtue, 195, 266.
Greeks. All the Greek colonies in Asia, obliged to attend Crœsus, 250. Became afterwards subject to Cyrus, 35. Prevail on Cyrus not to admit the barbarians with in their walls, and on what terms, 290.
Guards, necessity of them to the king's person, 302. Eunuchs the best, and why, ib.

H

Habits, to be broken gradually in diet, &c. 253.
Hand, right, to give it a pledge of fidelity and friendship, 160, 187, 361. Situation on the left more honourable, and why, 338.
Happiness, to be with the Deity in a future state, 362. Cyrus's opinion who is the happiest man, 326.
Heroes, reason of honours paid to the dead, 360. Guardians of countries, 83, 140. Supplications to them, ib. &c. Sacrifices to them, 332.
Honour, a life of it, the only one worth enjoyment, 104.
Horses, Horsemanship, great use of them, 167. Natural description of it, 168. Horsemanship compared to a centaur, 170. Horsemanship established amongst the Persians by the law of reputation, 171.
Humour, Persian conversation abounding with various kinds of it, 93, 100. Another of the same sort, 340, 343.
Hunting, in parks and an open country, naturally described by Cyrus, 52. Enthusiasm in it, 51, Resembling war, 39. Use and good effects of it, 316. Of use to horsemanship, ib. And the art of war, ib. And military virtues, ib. Teaches a command of passions and love of glory, ib. Persian youths much exercised in it, 38. Cyrus accustomed his courtiers to it, 317.
Hymns sung by Cyrus's army in the beginning of an engagement, 148, 275. Morning hymns sung by the Magi, 314.
Hyrcanians, description of them, and their manner of serving the Assyrians in war, 157. Quit the Assyrians and revolt to Cyrus, ib. 201. Reason of it, 157, 161. Treated on the same foot with the Medes and Persians, ib. Their advantage over the Persians by their horse, 163. Cyrus uneasy at it, but commends them, 167, 171. How cultivated by Cyrus, 161, 165, 174 Attend Cyrus in the war with great zeal, 208. Chose to stay near Cyrus in his new government, 343. Prince of, commended by Cyrus, 178. Of use to him, 179. His commendation of Cyrus, 195. Speech to the Medes to follow Cyrus voluntarily, ib. Informs Cyrus concerning the injuries and enemies of the Assyrian, 201. His speech for carrying on the war, 239. One of Cyrus's principal friends, 337. Invited by him to an entertainment, ib. Cyrus's present to him, 342

Digitized by Google

Hystaspes, a Persian, one of the alike-honoured, 166. His humorous story of the greedy soldier, 93. Speech in behalf of Temperance, 166. Puts Gadatas into a panic, 237. His freedom with Cyrus, ib. Is for carrying on the war, ib. Reduceth Phrygia on the Hellespont to Cyrus, 290. Dispatched by Cyrus to his friends on an experiment to raise money, 324. His success and answer, ib. Makes one at Cyrus's great entertainment, 339. Enquires of Cyrus why he honours Chrysantas more than himself, ib. His share in the humorous conversation, ib. Cyrus makes a match between him and the daughter of Gobryas, and gives him presents, 342.

I.

Jealousy, father jealous of his son's friend, 127.

Jesting, a scene of drollery and jesting, 236. Another of the same kind, 339.

Imposture, in pretending to knowledge without real foundation, exposed, 70. With respect to the person allowed, 317.

Impotency of mind, 192.

Impudence, principal cause of all vice, 37. Agreeable pertness of children distinguished from it, 38.

Incest, how men come to avoid it, 195.

Indian subject to the Assyrian, 61. Sends an embassy to Cyrus, to enquire the reason of the war, 107. Ambassadors go to the Assyrian to ask the same question, 109. Cyrus's message to the Indian for money, 134. Sends an embassy of friendship to Cyrus with treasures, 248. Ambassadors sent as spies to the enemy by Cyrus, ib. Bring back intelligence, 249. Becomes at length subject to Cyrus, 35.

Ingenuous, their education, discipline, manners and exercises in Persia, 36, 41. How distinguished from slaves by Cyrus in his new government, 323.

Ingratitude described, 37. Punished by the Persians, and them only, as a crime, ib.

Insolence in prosperity betokens dejection in adversity, 123.

Ionians, obliged to attend Croesus, 250.

Jove, the greatest of all the gods, 266, 270. Paternal, 65, 140, 270, 356. Regal, 131. Saviour, assistant and leader, 148, 271. Youths of Jove, 148. Prayers to him, 266, 356, &c. Sacrifices, 332, 356, &c.

Judge, should give his opinion according to law, 48. Hard fate of judges, 327.—Justice, public schools for teaching it among the Persians, 37. Defined to be what is according to law, 48. Case of two boys with their coats, 47. Story of the Persian teacher, who taught justice and injustice, 77. All possible deceits lawful towards an enemy, 76. Unjust for a slave, by conquest, to attempt his freedom, 119.

Kings, compared to fathers, 309. Benefits arising from their good example, 314. All public virtue depends mainly upon it, 309.

Digitized by Google

K

Ought to be the best man, 317. Called a seeing law, 314. Herdsmen, 33, 323. Gain reverence from pomp and majesty, 317, 327. Cares of a kingdom, 358. Faithful friends their securest sceptre, 359. To be made such by beneficence, ib. The properest persons to be preferred by them, ib. Wearisome court paid to them, 298. Humourously represented, ib. Cyrus the most excellent of all, 34, He and his subjects compared to father and children, 364. All called him father, 318, 322. Compared as a good king to a master bee, 194. The arts and policy which rendered him so amiable to mankind, 313, 323. Vid. Policy.—Knowledge of self, necessary to happiness, 283. How easily mistaken, ib. Best attained by the just punishment of folly, ib.

L.

Labour, those who will not labour for themselves, justly made slaves, 101.—Laughter, loud and insolent, against decorum, 316. Without any ill meaning, is polite and agreeable, 95, 341. Laughter and innocent raillery at what occurred, 95, 183, 341. Humourous conversation, in defence of it, with a churl, 95.—Law of reputation established in horsemanship amongst the Persians, 171. Laws, Persian, commended before all others, 36. Better or worse executed, according to the governors, 311.

Love, in great measure voluntary, 191. Law and fear two bars to it, ib. Therefore incest avoided, ib. Tolove against right, sign of impotent minds, 192. Strange condition of persons in love, 191, 192. Gods conquered by love, 244. The same of wise men, ib. Safest way to fly from the temptation, 192, 244. Power of it in overlooking every other person, 127. Stronger than the fear of death, in the example of Panthea, 287. Not easy to hate such as love one, 315. Noble instance of conjugal affection, 190, 243, 246, 265, 286.—Luxury, Median, exposed, 43, 365.—Lydians subject to the Assyrian, 61. Number and strength of their force under Cresus, 84. Their consternation on Sardes being taken, 280. How Cyrus treated such who did not attend him with pleasure to Babylon, 291. Became subject to Cyrus, 35.

M

Magi. The regard which Cyrus ever paid to them in war, 183. In peace, 314. Have the first choice of spoil for the gods, 183, 187, 285. And ground for sacred use, 297. Appointed to sing a morning hymn to the gods, 314. Have direction of the public sacrifices, ib. Of sacred affairs, 327, 332.—Magistrates. Of men and other animals, 33.—Mankind. Best-natured, most grateful animal in the world, 338. Liable to errors, 127 therefore to be forgiven, ib. Generally refractory towards their governors, 34. Methods which Cyrus took of cultivating and pay-

Digitized by Google

ing court to them, 319. His success, 35. Their generations eternal, 360. Next to the gods, to reverence the whole offspring of men, 361.—Mandane. Mother of Cyrus, 35. Carries him to her father Astyages, 42. Her conversation with him on justice, 47.—Marriage. Remarkable instance of conjugal affection and friendship in the story of Abradatas and Panthea, 190, 243, 246, 265, 280. Justice of treating adulterers as enemies, 127. Expressions of conjugal affection of Tygranes and his wife, 126. 127. Cyrus's obedience, in refusing to marry without his parents' consent, 348.

Medes. Their luxury and effeminacy, 42, 365. Use paint for their eyes and complexion, and false hair, 42. Their king a tyrant, 48. Ambitious designs and confederacy of the Assyrian king against them, 61. Their number and force under Cyrus, 85. Indulge themselves after the enemy's defeat, 153. As many as will, have leave to attend Cyrus, 156. Their different motives, 158. Advantage over the Persians by their horse, 167. Methods of Cyrus to captivate their affection, 173. Have the distribution of the spoil, 187. The Median messenger sent by Cyaxares to Cyrus, 173. The Mede who requested and obtained one of Cyrus's fine women, 188. Stay with Cyrus in his new government, 343. Voluntarily submit to it, 35. All Media given to Cyrus in dowery, 348. Satrapy of the Medes bequeathed by Cyrus to Taxoaxares, 358.—Mind. Meanness and impotency of it in loving against right, 192. Vid. soul.—Modesty. Principal of all virtues, 120. Recommends all other Qualifications, ib. Not a passion, but matter of science, 121. Instilled by just punishment, 122, 282. By fear, 122. Distinguished from reverence of behaviour, 316. Governs men's actions in the dark, ib. Persians careful of cultivating it in their children, 38.—Money, vanity and impotence of heaping up treasures, 325. Best conferred upon friends, ib. Cyrus's experiment about it, 324.

N

Names. Good effect of calling people by their names, 212.—Nature. Incest avoided on account of law and fear, 191. Self-defence and the method of it, natural to each animal, 103. Earth the best couch, abounding with the best furniture, 199.

O

Obedience, how taught, 314, et seq. Servile, detestible, 120.—Oeconomy of an household to be learnt from the order of an army, 312, Of a royal one, 313.—Officers, the several kinds which Cyrus appointed in his empire, 311.—Omens, thunder and lightning import victory, 65. Eagle, of happy omen, 112.—Ornaments of person, 317. Friends the noblest, 328.

Panthea, wife of Abradatas, king of the Susians, 189. Most beautiful woman of all Asia, 187. Taken captive by Cyrus's Army, 189. Chosen out by the Medes for Cyrus, ib. Noble

Digitized by Google

example of conjugal affection and heroic virtue, 243. Araspes's description of her person and manner, on first entering her tent, 189. Cyrus afraid to see her, and gives charge of her to Araspes, 190. How Araspes became her captive, 193. Rejects his solicitations, 243. Her goodness in keeping it private from Cyrus, ib. Threatened with violation by Araspes, ib. Sends account of it to Cyrus, ib. Her gratitude to Cyrus, 246. Obtains leave of them to send for her husband, ib. Stirs him up to gratitude, ib. Presents him with a fine suit of armour, and puts it on, 265, Moving scene betwen them on that occasion, ib. Her love, bravery, and heroic virtue, 265. Encourages him to bravery, ib. Admired by Abradatas, 266. Drew the admiration of the whole army, ib. Beautiful scene of her affliction over his dead body, 286, 288. Her fondness, ornaments, lamentation, self-upbraidings, 285, 287. Greatly pitied and honoured by Cyrus, ib. Remains inconsolable, ib. Kills herself for love of her husband, ib. Cyrus's lamentation over her, 288. His care of their funeral rites and monument, ib.

Paphlagonians. Subject to the Assyrian, 61. Invited, but did not attend the expedition against the Medes and Persians, 84. Join Crœsus, 250. Subject at length to Cyrus, 35.—Parents, a scene of parental affection in describing of a son's death. 185. Cyrus's remarkable obedience to them, 348.—Parties, how mischievous to any country, 288. The good of having them composed, 289.—Passions, to indulge them against right, sign of impotent minds, 192. Fear of an army changed into grief, 251.—Peace, good effects of it to a country, 133.

Persians, their number, 41. Number of their tribes, 37. Country mountainous, 43. Bad horsemen, ib. Habits coarse, diet plain, 42. Form of government limited, 48. Their laws and institutions described, 36. Prescribed before all others, 41. Extremely careful of the education of their children, ib. Their place of ingenious discipline, ib. Disingenuous people and manners banished from it, ib. Division of it into four parts, according to the respective orders of boys, youth, grown men, and elders, ib. Attendance of each order, in each respective division, ib. Twelve rulers over each order, 37. Rulers from whom chosen, ib. Respective parts, or employments of each order, ib. Boys go to public schools to learn justice of the rulers, ib. Punished by them for all injustice, particularly ingratitude, ib. Taught modesty and discretion, strict temperance and obedience, 38. Eat not with their mothers, but teachers, ib. At sixteen they enter the order of youth, ib. Exercise arms, military virtues, and public service of the youth described, ib. How long they continue youth, 40. The arms and service to the magistrate, and in war, of the full grown described, ib. At what age they enter the order of elders, ib. Elders have the choice of all magistrates,

Digitized by Google

ib. Distribute public and private justice, ib. Their sentence renders infamous for life, 41. Compound of the most excellent men, ib. Necessary to pass through each order complete, to the next above it, ib. None by law excluded from honour and magistracy, ib. Any that will, and can afford it, may send their boys to the public schools, ib. Number of the alike-honoured, or gentlemen, 62. Their king governed by the law, and is to execute the orders of state, 48. The king appears to have been the high-priest, 176, 350. Their piety, faith, and justice, 362. Their strict temperance and manlike exercises, 41, 364. Their arms, 86, 88, 366. Manner of fighting, 86. Bravery and skill in war, 366. Disadvantage in war for want of horse and horsemen, 167. Shameful to be seen to spit or blow the nose, 41, 364. Reason of it, ib. Great end and use of their severe discipline, 166. Custom of kissing, when and whom, 59. Persian teacher, who taught justice and injustice, suppressed, and why, 77. A Persian conversation in Cyrus's tent, full of humour, 92, 100. Another of the same kind, 339, 343. Of opinion that artists should be, and principally in religion, 330. Ambitious designs, and confederacy of the Assyrian king against them and the Medes, 61. Sent to for assistance by Cyaxares, 62. Elders in council choose Cyrus commander of their army, ib. Number of their army, and of whom it consisted, ib. Alike-honoured have power given them to increase their number, ib. Persian soldiers who attended Cyrus invited to the same arms with the alike-honoured, 87. How Cyrus exercised and cultivated them, 89, 109. Their bravery, obedience, and exact order, 148, 150. Victory over the Assyrian army, 149, 163. Cyrus's praise and gratitude to them, 151. Abstain with pleasure from eating, while the allies feasted themselves, 167, 174. Their vigilance above all the rest, ib. Their easy self-denial, with respect to the enemy's treasure, 183. Body of horse formed for them, 168, 183. Horsemanship established among them by the law of reputation, 171. Cyrus's drollery on himself and them, 184. Sends to Persia for a reinforcement of his army, 176. Enures them more to labour than the rest of the army, 195, Their decorum in eating and drinking, 199. Like to be worsted by the Egyptians, 276. Pitied and relieved by Cyrus, 277. Come off victorious, 278, Persian cavalry, won most reputation of all Cyrus's army, 279. Persian Garrisons left in Caria, 289. In Phrygia, on the Hellespont, 290. In Sardes, ib. In Babylon, 297. Persian lancemen formed by Cyrus, 298. Persians, their share in settling and establishing Cyrus's new government, ib. 318. When they first used the Median robe, 327. Pay Cyrus adoration in his procession for the first time, 330. Cyrus and the Persians bound mutually by oath to each other by Cambyses, 350. Extent of the Persian empire under Cyrus, 35, 362. Bequeathed by him to Cambyses his son, 358. Universal

Digitized by Google

degeneracy, and ruin of the Persian state, and institutions after Cyrus's death, 362, to the end.
Person, tallness in men and women handsome, 127, 197, 330. Imposture of person, allowed to gain reverence, 317.
Pheraulas, a Persian common soldier, of a noble mind, much in Cyrus's favour, 102, 328. His noble speech for proportionable rewards, 102. Is greatly enriched by Cyrus, 334. Honoured by him with the care of his procession, 328. His blow from the Sacian, and behaviour upon it, 333. Is presented by the Sacian with his horse, ibid. By Cyrus with his prize of cups, 334. Invites the Sacian to a handsome entertainment, ibid. Presents the Sacian with the cups, ibid. Conversation with him on riches and poverty, ibid. Despises riches, and bestows them all on the Sacian, 336. Lays himself wholly out in enriching the Sacian, and cultivating his friends, ibid. His noble character of man, 337.
Phœnicians, join Crœsus against Cyrus, 250. Become part of Cyrus's empire, 35.
Phrygians, of the greater Phrygia. Their force under the Assyrian against Cyrus, 84. Join Crœsus against him, 250. Overthrown by Cyrus, 291. Artacamus made satrap over them, 352.
Phrygians, of Phrygia on the Hellespont. Their force under the Assyrian against Crœsus, 84. Their flight, 163. Allies to Crœsus against him, 250. Hystaspes sent with an army against them, 290. Their king forced to submit by the revolt of his commanders, ibid. Garrisons left there for Cyrus, ibid. Pharnuchus appointed satrap over them, 352.
Pleasure, indulgence of it, how contrary to policy, 305.
Policy, towards a friend, who has done amiss, and is humbled, 124. Appearance of enmity to a friend, and of friendship to an enemy, 206. To procure a supply before want comes, 69. Policy of Cyrus over his new-conquered subjects, 297. By assuming the state of a king, 298. Address to all people, ibid. Proper guards about his person and palace, 302. Humbling his new subjects, 304. Cultivating his friends, ibid. His method to preserve his dominion, and gain the love, reverence, and obedience of all his subjects, 304, 308, 313, 323. By being an example of all virtue, 305, 314. His economy and distribution of his several offices and rewards, and on whom, 313, 315, 318. By his regard to the priesthood, and established religion, 314. By real piety, 315. By modesty and goodness of mind, ibid. By reverence of behaviour, ibid. Military virtues and exercises, 317. Abstinence from pleasure, 305. Ornaments and dignity of person, 317. Strict justice, 315. Decorum, 316. Ceremony, 337. Observation of ranks and precedence, 327, 338. A grand procession, 327. By love and good-nature to all, 319. All kinds of good offices, ibid. The particular culture of his friends, 320, 323. Eating with them, 320. Showing them all honour and courtship, ibid. By grand munificence, 322. The number of his spies, and bounty to them, ibid. His distinction

Digitized by Google

between the ingenuous and slaves, 318. His policy over the provinces, 350. By garrisons, with commanders over them, ibid. By the satraps, for the civil government of them, ibid. By the establishment of his own manners and discipline in them, 353. By an annual progress with an army through them, 354. His means of gaining intelligence through his whole empire, ibid. The success of his policy, 34, 319, 322, 362. Beloved and called father by all, 318, 322, 362.

Politeness, innocent raillery and laughter belong to it, 95, 342, 347. In manners described, 315.

Prayer, due qualifications for it, 66. Subject matter of it what, ibid. Human means necessary, ibid. Vide God.

Precedence, ranks of it in a procession, 329. At table, 338. Due to elders in every thing, 358.

Procession, royal one described, 329.

Provinces to an empire, how governed, 350.

Prudence, to procure a supply before want comes, 69. Vide Policy.

Punishment, use of just punishment to virtue, 99. Often instils modesty and self-knowledge, 121, 284.

R.

Raillery, on persons and things, a refined manner of it with good humour, and without offence, 95, 340.

Religion, real, 66, 81, 183, 195, 266, 314. Religion established, or the rights and ceremonies of it, 83, 140, 143, 148, 183, 269, 271, 275, 297, 314, 330, 356. Regard Cyrus paid to both in his new government, 314. Artists in religious affairs necessary, 330. Vide God.

Reputation, law of it established in horsemanship, 171.

Revenge, pleasure of Gobryas and Gadatas, in satisfying their revenge, 296. Best to forgive, 126, 127.

Reverence, methods to render the person venerable, 317. Of behaviour, wherein it consists, 315. Distinguished from modesty, 316. Cyrus's example of it, ibid. To reverence the gods, 360. To reverence the whole offspring of men, 361. To reverence self, 316.

Riches, the most valuable consist in justice, honour, and generosity, and friendship of men, 166, 197, 325. Hoarding of them a sign of mean, sordid, indigent minds, 325, 344. Contrary to true policy, 166, 324, 344. Noble instances of the contempt of them in Cyrus and Pheraulas, 136, 324, 334, 344.

S.

Sacian cupbearer, mimiced and ridiculed by Cyrus, 44. Sacian, a private man, who won the prize at the races, 332. His conversation with Pheraulas, 334. Enriched by him, ibid. Vide Pheraulas.

Sacians, received great injuries from the Assyrian, 201. Enemies to him, ibid. 209. Their zeal in becoming allies to Cyrus, ibid. Number of their army, ibid.

Digitized by Google

Sardes, richest city of all Asia next Babylon, 281. In one year able to recover the loss of all its riches, 282. Taken by Cyrus, and how, 280 Persian garrison left in it, 290.
Slaves, ought not to attempt their freedom, 119. Best used as such, 318. Ordinance of God, with respect to those who will not labour, 101. Servile arms, 291.
Sleep, like death, 360.
Soul, two, one good, the other bad, 245. Its nature described during its union with the body, and after its separation, 360. Its existence hereafter probable, ibid.
Spring, Cyrus enjoyed a perpetual one in the several parts of his empire, 355.
Spies, their use to a monarch, 322. How to be gained, ibid. Spies of higher rank not easily suspected, 248.
State, future of the soul, probable, 360. Religion and virtue depend upon it, ibid.
Susians, Abradatas king of. Vide Abradatas.
Syrians, subject to the Assyrian, 61. Conquered by Cyrus, 35.

T.

Table, Cyrus's polite behaviour at it, 320.
Tanoaxares, second son of Cyrus, 358. Satrapy of the Medes, &c. bequeathed to him, ibid.
Tactics, art of forming an army, and moving in order, 70, 347. Small part of generalship, 71.
Temperance, Persian, 42, 199.
Terror of an army described, and how appeased, 250, 274.
Thracians, mercenaries to the Assyrian, 250.
Thunder and lightning, of happy omen, 65.
Trojans, their form of war-chariots altered by Cyrus, 242.
Tygranes, eldest son of the Armenian prince, 118. Used to hunt with Cyrus, ibid. Comes at the instant of Cyrus's trial of his father, ibid. Pleads his father's cause, 120. His sentiments of modesty, punishment, fear, ibid. Political admonitions to Cyrus, 123. Prevails over him for his father, 125. His love for his wife, and questions to her, with her answers, 126, 127. Relation to Cyrus of his father's cruelty to his friend, 126. Joins Cyrus with an Armenian force, 129. Attends him in his wars with his wife, 128, 342. Modesty and readiness to obey Cyrus's commands, 195. Wins the prize of the Armenians at the horse-races, 332. Invited to Cyrus's entertainment, 337. Hath a present made him for his wife, 342.

V.

Vesta, goddess, supplications to her, 65.
Victory, a great pleasure, 152. Inspires men with fortitude, ibid. Rewards of it, 101. Right of conquest asserted, 304.

Digitized by Google

Virtue and Vice, a description of them, 98. Securest guard, best companion, 307. Depends not on belief of a future state, 360. But on reverence of the Deity and mankind, ibid. A virtuous man has interest in all men, 361. Military ones, 316. National, depends on the example of the governors, 363.
Vulcan, god of fire, 295.

W.

War, art of it at large, described and justified by Cambyses to Cyrus, 65, 82. Qualifications and part of a general, ibid. Of subordinate officers, 89. Of soldiers, ibid. 150. Use of horse and horsemen, 168. War-chariots, 242, 247. Camels unfit for war, save for baggage, 279. Tent officers, 164. Arms for a close engagement, 86. Servants of an army, 92. Slingers, when of use and when not, 291. Tactic art, what, 70, 347. Exercises, Emulation. Rewards to an army, 74, 89, 97, 281. How to raise their courage, 72, 146. Admirable effects of devotion. 148, 275. How to inspire them with love, obedience, self-denial, and all military virtues, 73, 89, 109, 212, 309, 315. Use of disposing each regiment in a tent, 90. Rules how to take advantage of the enemy, 76. Rules and order of a march, 80, 113, 211, 224, 257. Rules for an incampment, 71, 141, 241, 257. Order of one, 345. Barbarian entrenchments described, 141. Policy and tricks towards an enemy, 76, 112, 142, 202, 206. Economy of an army, and care of necessary artificers, instruments, 70, 253. Use of cultivating the force of the allies, 165. Approach to the enemy, 141. Spies and intelligence, 81, 214, 244, 248, 249. Viewing stations, 258. When to march near the enemy's walls, and when not, 224. How an army is to be disposed and drawn off from before the walls of a city, 292. Preparations for an engagement, 78, 81, 88, 210, et seq. How to allay the terror of an army, 251. Sacrifices, prayers, devotion, 65, 74, 81, 140, 148, 268. Engagement described, 149, 271. Signal, hymn, shout, devotion, mutual exhortations, and ardor, 148, 271. Execution done by armed chariots, 275, by a phalanx, consisting all of friends, ibid. Gratitude to the gods and the army, upon success, 137, 151. Treasures to the army, 136, 316. Distribution of the enemy's spoil, 180, 187, 297. Method of taking Babylon encompassed by a wall and deep river, 293. Different effects of a victory and defeat, 203. Behaviour towards the enemy subdued, 173, 184, 291. Right of conquest asserted over persons and fortunes, 304. Hunting of great use to the art of war, 316. Religion above all necessary to it, 257, 264. The piety and success of Cyrus and his army, 65, 117, 149, 150, 271, 280. Knowledge and practice of war, the means of liberty and happiness, 306.

Digitized by Google

Water, how to leave off wine for it, 253.
Wisdom, human, nothing, 82. God alone to be consulted and followed, ibid.
Woman, modesty and reverence of behaviour commands respect, 315. Admirable instance of conjugal love and heroic virtue in Panthea, 243. Vide Panthea.
World, eternal, 361. Free of all imperfection, ibid. Preserved in harmony and order by the gods, ibid.

X.

Xenophon, his observations on the several forms of governments, and their quick dissolution, 33. Remarks on the government of men and other animals, 33, 34. General survey of the vast power and dominions of Cyrus, 24, 355, 362. Imputes the cause of it to his understanding and good conduct, 34. Political observations on the corruption and ruin of the Persian state after Cyrus's death, with the cause of them, 362, to the end. His modest remark on the Asiatic manner of carrying their women to war, 167.

THE END.

J. Swan, Printer, Angel Street, Newgate Street.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google